Civil Society Participation in Urban Development in Syria

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Thesis submitted for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh
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July 2012

Abstract

This research examines urban planning as a form of governance, considering it a process where decisions are taken on urban land use, analysing the possibilities for wider participation of civil society in this process in order to promote potential sustainable outcomes within their related political, economic and social contexts. The geographical context for this study is Syria where, along with other countries of the south, such issues have been under-researched.

Syria is experiencing a transformation period economically and socially. This has been greatly influenced by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). This effect is translated into the objectives of the Syrian national 10th Five-Year Development Plan (FYP) (2006-2010) of promoting stable economic growth and sustainable human development as two requirements to achieving a socio-market economy.

According to the FYP, sustainable human development is characterised by empowering civil society as a partner in the development process and boosting its participation in all society aspects towards the achievement of 'good governance'. This is intended to counter the misperception that urban development processes are limited to formal institutions of the government, and to include a whole range of society actors from all state, private sector and civil society spheres. This is consistent with the UNDP focus on civil society participation as a fundamental prerequisite of sustainable development, which is an essential characteristic of good urban governance. However, to date, the extent to which these values have been incorporated in practice has not been examined.

This study adopts a case study approach and uses institutional analysis to examine the extent to which development institutions in Syria permit the environment needed to apply this principle in practice. In addition, the research investigates the areas where possible alternative institutional models can be developed within state-market-civil society contexts through defining new roles and relationships, mainly between civil society and the state, in order to promote an effective practice of civil society participation in urban development decision-making.

The empirical analysis in this research highlighted the shortcomings of international empowering policies, where neither the role nor the potential of the informal segments of civil society are recognised. In addition, the analysis showed that the international policies of participative approach to urban development tend to be limited and do not sufficiently take into account the fact that structures of power are multi-layered, multi-related, and change from one context to another. Empowering options for civil society participation thus need to be informed by in-depth understanding of local contexts. The research suggests that the adoption of UNDP enabling approaches in Syria has potential. However, achieving this is a political matter, where issues of how power is structured and practiced by society actors (the state, the private sector and the civil society) in a given context should be considered.

Thus, this research maintains a postmodern view of civil society participation in urban development. It argues for the need to promote a proactive approach to enable civil society participation in the countries of the South based on an institutional vision of planning as a form of governance, rather than a normative internationally accepted approach developed in isolation from the given political and institutional urban development context.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank all those who contributed in any form to the development of this thesis, for willingly giving their time, support, knowledge and experience.

Special thanks go to my husband Molham and my son Amin who are the source of hope and motivation for the completion of this work.

Declaration statement

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List of abbreviations

ALC	:	The Active Learning Centre
BMZ	:	German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
BOT	:	Built-Operate-Transfer
CBO	:	Community Based Organization
CBoS	:	Central Bureau Of Statistics
CIA	:	The Central Intelligence Agency
CIM	:	Centre for International Migration and Development
CSOs	:	Civil society organisations
CSU	:	California State University
DAC	:	The Development Assistance Committee
DED	:	The German Development Service
DESD	:	Directorate of Executive Service Departments
DFID	:	Department for International Development
DMA	:	Damascus Metropolitan Area
DMA-UPD	:	Project for Urban Planning and Development in Damascus Metropolitan Area
DOD	:	Damascus Old City Directorate
DSE	:	Damascus Stock Exchange
EIB	:	European International Bank
ESD	:	Executive Service Department
EU	:	European Union
EUR	:	Euro
FCO	:	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FEMA	:	Federal Emergency Management Agency
FEMIP	:	Facility for Euro-Mediterranean investment and Partnership
FYP	:	The Five Year Plan
GC	:	Governorate Council
GCEC	:	The General Company for Engineering Studies and Consulting
GCGS	:	The General Company for Geological Studies
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
GEO	:	Governorate Executive Office
GHC	:	The General Housing Company
GNI	:	Gross National Income
GOC	:	Government-owned Corporation
GoD	:	Governorate of Damascus
GRDP	:	Gross Regional Domestic Product
GIZ	:	German Technical Cooperation
GIZ- UDP	:	Program for Sustainable Urban Development

IFES	:	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IMF	:	The International Monetary Fund
ITU	:	The UN agency for Information and Communication Technologies
JCRA	:	Jersey Competition Regularity Authority
JICA	:	The Japan International Cooperation Agency
K&A	:	Khatib and Alami
LoC	:	Library of Congress
LSE	:	The London School of Economics and Political Science
MAM	:	Municipal Administration Modernisation
MIGA	:	International Centre for Settlement Disputes & the Multilateral Guarantee Agency
MNC	:	Multinational Corporation
MoA	:	Municipality of Aleppo
MoC	:	Ministry of Culture
MoET	:	Ministry of Economy and Trade
MoFA	:	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoHC	:	Ministry Housing and Construction
MoLA	:	Ministry of Local Administration
MoRE	:	Ministry of Religious Endowments
MoSAL	:	Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour
MoSEA	:	Ministry of State for Environmental Affairs
MoT	:	Ministry of Tourism
MRTS	:	Mass Rapid Transit Systems
MSEs	:	Micro and Small Enterprises
NGOs	:	Non-governmental Organisations
NPF	:	National Progressive Front
OBG	:	Oxford Business Group
ODA	:	Official Development Assistance
OECD	:	The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PG	:	Post Graduate
PIC	:	Planning and International Cooperation Commission
PLC	:	Public Limited Company
PMoS	:	Prime Ministry of Syria
POGAR	:	Programme of Governance in the Arab Region
REC	:	Regional Executive Committee
SANA	:	Syrian Arab News Agency
SAR	:	The Syrian Arab Republic
SCFA	:	Syrian Commission for Family Affairs
SCP	:	The Syrian Communist Party
SGDC	:	Syrian - German Development Cooperation
SHD	:	Sustainable Human Development

SLC	:	South Lanarkshire Council
SPC	:	The State Planning Commission
STFD	:	The Syria Trust for Development
SYP	:	Syrian Pound
TD	:	Transport Department
TNC	:	Transnational Corporation
UDP	:	The Program for Sustainable Urban Development
UN	:	The United Nations
UNDP	:	The United Nations Development Programme
UPD	:	Urban Planning Directorate
WB	:	World Bank
WG	:	World Geography
WU	:	The Women's Union
YU	:	The Youth Union

List of appendices

Thesis main text

Chapter one: Introduction to the research

1.1 Research aim

1.1.1 Research overview

This research examines urban planning as a form of governance, considering it a process where decisions are taken on urban land use, analysing the possibilities for a wider participation of civil society in this process in order to promote potential sustainable outcomes within their related political, economic and social context. In this, the research examines civil society participation in urban development decision-making process in Syria.

The rise of civil society as a third sector in development decision-making in the North[1] has brought planning governance to a turning point, as a new division of power among the three forces in society (the state, the market and civil society) has been possible. This rising role of civil society, essentially reflected in social participation mechanisms, is seen to be vital to delivering what is currently a pervasive and highly influential mental model - sustainable development[2]. Therefore, as argued by Sandercock (1998), the importance of widening participation in spatial planning processes has been emphasised in theory, practice, governments and international agencies all over the globe since the 1960s. Moreover, the concept of wider social participation reached an ideological dimension that influenced and shaped development studies, policy and practice during the 1990s (Cleaver, 2001; Weber, 2007).

The form of civil society participation in urban development adopted by the countries of the North is shaped by their specific political, economic and social structures (which are

[1] "The North-South terminology was introduced in the 1980s. Although it has been criticised for a simplistic view of a world divided between wealthy modern states (mainly in the North) on the one hand, and poor 'backward' states on the other (mainly in the South), the concept, while imperfect, nevertheless is useful in the context of this thesis" (Weber 2007:1, drawing from Drakakis-Smith 2000: 4-6).

[2] The definition of the concept 'sustainable development' as used for the purposes of this research and how civil society participation contributes to this is further explained in Chapter two of the literature review.

relatively similar compared to other countries of the world). Therefore, these forms cannot assume universal validity and applicability (Kothari, 2002; Weber, 2007) and should be reformed to suit the different political, economic and social contexts of the country in which they are applied. The United Nations (UN), being a socially oriented international agency, has adopted the role of empowering civil society and its participation in development decision-making as a main objective of its Development Programme (UNDP), which aims to work with the South to deliver potential sustainable development, and Syria[3] is one of the countries targeted by this programme.

Currently, Syria is experiencing a rapid transformation period (economically and socially), being greatly influenced by the UNDP. Consequently, urban development governance[4] in Syria is starting to adopt a new approach. This is reflected in the objectives of the recent 10th Five-Year Development Plan (FYP 2006-2010). One of these objectives is to develop civil society participation in development decision-making. This is considered key to delivering sustainable human development which, in addition to stable economic growth, is a requirement for establishing the basis for a socio-market economy.

In other words, Syria has incorporated this internationally promoted UN value of civil society participation into its development plan. Nevertheless, the ability to take this value on board in practice is still questionable. Therefore, this research examines whether development institutions in Syria, in terms of both the mental models and the organisational forms of urban development, permit the space needed to apply this principle in practice. Furthermore, the research investigates the areas where possible alternative institutional models can be developed within state-market-society contexts through defining new roles and relationships, mainly between civil society and the state, in order to promote an efficient practice of civil society participation in urban development decision-making (Carley, et al., 2001).

[3] An overview of the political, economic and social context of Syria is introduced in Chapter three of this thesis.

[4] Governance here is perceived as the sphere of relationships between the three forces in society (the state, the market and the actors of civil society) and the processes of interaction between these (Carley et al 2001, Devas 2001). Further definitions of the concept are introduced in the literature review in Chapter two of this thesis.

Thus, this research analyses the urban development decision-making process in Syria as a form of planning governance with emphasis on civil society participation, examining the importance of understanding the institutional context where this decision takes place, in terms of both mental models and organisational forms, in order to make this participation more efficient and to promote potential sustainable development. In this, the research uses the word 'institutions' in two ways – "firstly, 'mental models' which underpin the very structure of society, economics and politics; and secondly, as the 'organisational forms' that express relationships between those in, and of relevance to" urban development especially in relation to land-use (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 17). An example of the former use would be "the concept of legitimacy of governance form and attitude" to urban development (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 17). An example of the second would be the actual institutional organisations that exist to allow linkages within society and between society and state or the private sector. Accordingly, this research is located within the paradigm of new institutionalism[5].

1.1.2 Research position

As discussed in the above research overview, this research is located in the paradigm of 'institutionalism', as it analyses urban development decision-making process as a subset of planning governance to provide answers to questions of who takes the decisions and how these decisions are made within the current development institutional context in Syria.

In this, the research presents a postmodern[6] view of the position of civil society participation within the Syrian urban development governance context. The research in

[5] "The first neo-institutional arguments were formulated by John Meyer and colleagues such as Brian Rowan in 1977 and Richard Scott in 1983, and by Lynne Zucker in 1977. This new orientation proposed that formal organizational structure reflected not only technical demands and resource dependencies, but was also shaped by institutional forces, including rational myths, knowledge legitimated through the educational system and by the professions, public opinion, and the law. The core idea that organizations are deeply embedded in social and political environments suggested that organizational practices and structures are often either reflections of or responses to rules, beliefs, and conventions built into the wider environment" (Powell, 2007).

[6] Postmodernism can be described as "a set of critical, strategic and rhetorical practices employing concepts such as difference, repetition, the trace, the simulacrum, and hyperreality to destabilize other concepts such as presence, identity, historical progress, epistemic certainty, and the univocity of meaning" (Aylesworth, 2010). In postmodernism, the world is seen as a complex and uncertain place where reality is no longer fixed or determined, but rather, is constructed as the mind tries to understand its own particular and personal reality. In other words, postmodernism involves the belief that apparent realities are socially constructed, as they are subject to the changes of time and place (Haselhurst, et al., 1997).

this sense is thus located within the inductive-deductive cycle of science: the author started with a rational position to identify the research's main concepts, analytical framework and key areas for investigation. This was followed by an empirical approach to data collection and analysis where a number of sub-concepts and sub-theories related to the understanding and application of the research concepts were highlighted. Therefore, a two-fold articulation of the positivist-relativist approach is adopted while maintaining a proactive perspective in data analysis and research findings and recommendations. Thus, this research approach is seen to be progressive in relation to developing understanding of the concept of civil society participation within the institutional context of the Syrian urban development. The ideological position of the research is further explained in detail in Chapter four where the research methodology is presented.

1.1.3 Research contribution

The research's contribution to **theory** is a critique of the theoretical approaches to participatory planning that are based only on the analysis of power and promoted by the enabling policies of the international agencies (e.g. UN), and the study promotes a more institutional approach to planning. This is fundamentally based on a comprehensive analysis of the given urban development context. The thesis further contributes to **method** by emphasising the importance of the case study approach[7] in conducting in-depth analysis, especially in a context such as that of Syria, which lacks access to literature and reliable statistics.

The key contribution of the thesis, however, is to **knowledge**, as the research looks at civil society participation in urban development decision-making as a component of 'good' urban development governance. This is within an institutional analysis of the urban development context in Syria to identify key actors, their mental models and organisational structures. The research brings a new focus in researching civil society participation and urban development governance which is unprecedented in relation to the Syrian urban development context and one of only a few such analyses available in relation to countries of the South of similar urban development governance contexts. In addition, this thesis has contributed to providing a well structured source of reference in

[7] A further explanation of the case study approach and how this contributed to answering the research questions is introduced in the methodology in Chapter four of this thesis.

relation to issues of urban development in Syria, which are very patchy and limited. The research builds on, within the local context of Syria, the work of a variety of international study parties and, within the wider context of urban development governance, on the work of a collection of authors. These are presented in more detail in Chapter eight under the sub-section of research contributions.

1.2 Research objectives and key questions

The research attempts to examine the role of civil society participation in urban development decision-making concerning land use, within the state-market-civil society context of Syria. The research emphasises the effect of the state-market-civil society sphere of relationships, which forms the governance context of the studied country, when deciding on an effective form of participation. Thus, the research sets the following objectives in order to achieve its aim, each objective to be achieved by providing answers to relevant key questions.

Objective 1: To highlight the importance of the relationship between the institutional context and the process of civil society participation in theory and international development policy.

In order to provide a gradual approach to achieving this objective, it is divided into the following research questions:

1.1 What are the main forces in the society who are in control of development decision-making?
1.2 What is the position of civil society in the governance sphere, as addressed in both theory and international development policy?
1.3 What is the institutional context of land-use planning, in terms of both the mental models (which form the planning governance context) and the organisational forms (which reflects and further affects this context), and how does this allow the space to form and guide an efficient mechanism of civil society participation?
1.4 What type of governance, state-market-civil society relationship, currently exists in Syria?

Objective 2: To examine the mechanisms of civil society participation in urban development decision-making in Syria in terms of land-use taking place within the planning institutional context.

To meet this objective the following research questions have been addressed:

2.1 What form of urban development organisation currently exists in Syria?
2.2 What are the civil society participation policies that are encouraged by the UNDP in Syria?
2.3 What participation mechanisms currently exist in Syria in terms of urban development?

Objective 3: To discuss what form of civil society participation is most likely to be efficient to deliver the 10th FYP objectives in achieving potentially sustainable development.

This objective is met by answering the following questions:

3.1 How applicable are civil society participation policies, as promoted by the UNDP, to the urban development institutional context in Syria?
3.2 Which areas can be developed in the urban development institutional context in Syria in order to establish long term collaborative governance especially in terms of state-civil society relationships?
3.3 What alternative, potentially more efficient, participation mechanisms can be adopted within the urban development organisational forms in Syria?

1.3 Thesis structure

This thesis consists of eight chapters. These are as follows:

Chapter one introduces the research aim, position and key contributions. Furthermore, the chapter presents the research key questions and provides a summary of the thesis structure and the content of its chapters.

Chapter two provides a review of the key publications related to the theory of development governance, civil society and community participation and development institutions. The chapter defines the concepts of 'society forces', 'governance', 'participation' and 'sustainable development', as well as the contribution of participation in theory and international policies. Then, the chapter reviews the literature on institutional analysis of urban development governance by first, reviewing the effect of the political systems and their resulting legislation on the urban governance context, and, second, presenting several institutional theoretical approaches to analysing urban development governance contexts. Following this, the chapter discusses the relations between society forces and their contribution to achieving a collaborative urban governance context, and then presents the adapted analytical framework for this research. In doing so, the chapter answers the research questions 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3.

Chapter three presents an overview of the political and socio economic context of Syria. A key research contribution in this chapter is to draw these issues together and clearly define the three actors in Syrian society, the type of interaction between them and the effect of this on the urban development decision-making process in terms of land use. In this, the chapter firstly gives a summary of Syria in terms of the state, socio-economy and society. Then, the chapter highlights the main characteristics of the relationship between the state, the market and civil society and how this is affected by the UNDP. Following this, the chapter focuses more closely on the local urban development decision-making context in Damascus in order to provide an understanding of the local urban development context of the case studies chosen for this research. The chapter, thus, answers the research questions 1.4, 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3.

Chapter four first introduces a description of the main philosophies and research paradigms and their main methodologies in order to highlight the research position within these. The chapter then explains the data collection and analysis methods used in this research. Afterwards, the chapter introduces the main ethical considerations taken into account during the process of this research, followed by the major challenges and limitations that affected the research process and its outcomes.

Chapter five presents an overview of the two case studies chosen for this research. These are Damascus metro development, which is on the macro level and involves a top-down civil society participation process; and Qassyoon informal settlement, which is on the micro level and involves a bottom-up civil society participation process. This is achieved with the help of a structure which examines *an overview of the development,* where a physical description of the development is provided along with an overview of the origins of the development; *the development process*, where a description of the main issues, tasks and changes in the development is introduced with emphasis on describing any form of public participation tthat took place; and *an organisational overview* of the main players, laws and organisations that played a role in the development. This latter is further analysed on the basis of primary data in the following Chapter six. The chapter provides initial answers to research questions 1.4, 2.1 and 2.3.

Chapter six provides a critical analysis of the civil society participation process taking place in relation to the case studies introduced in Chapter five. The analysis is guided to focus on two themes: on the one hand, the urban development actors and their spheres of relationship – in other words, the urban development governance context; and on the other hand, their urban institutional structure, in terms of both mental models and organisational forms. Following this, a comparison of the analysis in relation to the case studies is presented. The chapter thus answers research questions 1.4, 2.1 and 2.3 in more detail, but on the local level of the city of Damascus.

Chapter seven extrapolates the analysis of the case studies introduced in the previous Chapter six in order to arrive at the key institutional characteristics of civil society participation in urban development but on the national level of Syria. This is to provide full answers to research questions 1.4, 2.1 and 2.3 (partly answered previously in Chapters five and six). Furthermore, the chapter recommends three areas for

development in order to boost civil society participation in urban development in Syria towards becoming a long-term process. These are: empowering civil society; enabling participation mental models; and consequently creating spaces for civil society input within the organisational structure of urban development institutions. In this, the chapter contributes to answering research questions 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3.

Chapter eight presents a summary of the research findings and how these answer the research objectives and their questions. The chapter then reflects on the relationship of the research findings to the wider theory and policy of urban governance in order to clarify the research position in the wider sphere of urban development literature. The chapter then presents the research contributions to theory, method and knowledge in detail. Following this, an agenda for future relevant theoretical and empirical research is presented.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an introduction to the research. For this, the chapter has, firstly, presented an overview of the research; secondly, summarised its position in research paradigms; and thirdly, reviewed its key contributions to theory, method and knowledge. The chapter has then addressed the three research objectives and their related key questions. Thereafter, the chapter has illustrated the thesis structure in terms of the number of chapters, their content and how these contributed to answering the research questions.

In this, the chapter has provided a comprehensive summary of the research motives, position and contribution in order to initiate a basic background of knowledge of the research before proceeding with the rest of the thesis. The following Chapter two presents the theoretical background from which the research key concepts were derived.

Chapter two: Research key concepts and analytical framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a critical review of the key publications related to the theory of development governance, civil society and community participation, and development institutions. This is in order to define the main concepts used for this research and to establish the research analytical framework to analyse the case studies chosen.

In this, the chapter responds to the research's first objective, which is to highlight the importance of the relationship between the institutional context and the process of civil society participation in theory and international development policy. This is via providing answers to the following research questions:

1.1 What are the main forces in the society who are in control of development decision-making?
1.2 What is the position of civil society in the governance sphere, as addressed in both theory and international development policy?
1.3 What is the institutional context of land-use planning, in terms of both the mental models (which form the planning governance context) and the organisational forms (which reflects and further affects this context), and how does this allow the space to form and guide an efficient mechanism of civil society participation?

The chapter starts by defining the concepts of 'society forces', 'governance' and 'participation' in order to clarify the dimensions of each concept used for the purpose of this research. This is followed by a brief discussion of the definition of 'sustainable development' and the contribution of participation to it in theory and international policies. This is in order to clarify the intended meaning of the concept when used in this research.

Then, the chapter reviews literature on institutional analysis of urban development governance. In this, a discussion of the effect of the political systems and their resulting legislation on the urban governance context is presented. This is followed by a review of several institutional theoretical approaches to analysing the context for urban development governance. Afterwards, the relations between society forces and their contribution to achieving a collaborative urban governance context is discussed. Furthermore, the research literature-based analytical framework is illustrated. The chapter is finally concluded with the answers to the research questions provided by this literature review.

2.2 Governance and participation

2.2.1 Society forces

The state

The term 'state' is traditionally used to define "an area of land with relatively well defined, internationally recognized, political boundaries". In literature, another common use of the term focuses on the state as "a set of institutions for the protection and maintenance of society. These institutions include government, politics, the judiciary, armed forces, etc., and guarantee the reproduction of social relations in a way that is beyond the capability, or commonly the opposition, of any individual or single social group" (Johnston, et al., 2000 pp. 788-789).

A critical discussion of the meaning of 'state' has been raised in modern history literature. This argues whether it is "like a fictional person who has powers separate from both the rulers and the ruled". Here, modern sceptical questions of the 'state' being "merely the power of the government" and the absence of "specific person or body of persons [who] can be said to exercise untrammelled sovereignty" have been raised (Skinner, 2007). Douglass et al (1998) raised a similar argument about government's retreat and the age of no government. These arguments have concluded with the most recent debate of whether "we have reached the end of the road for the theory of the state" (Skinner, 2007).

These changes in the meaning and content of the 'state' are clearly reflected in its role in the field of planning, which has changed over the past five decades from being the controller of the development process into being "a socially representative organism" in a collaborative development process (Carley, et al., 2001; Douglass, et al., 1998).

This research uses the term 'state' to refer to all forms of governmental organizations which form the public sector. This includes state institutions on all levels – national, regional and local; government owned corporations (GOCs); and the state's national and international development partners. This definition may be less recent than the modern 'absence of state' debate, but is felt to be simple and relevant to the purpose of this research.

The private sector and the market

The 'private sector' is that part of an economy which is not owned by the state, where goods and services are produced by individuals and companies as opposed to the government which controls the public sector (Hirsch, et al., 2002; Mayhew, 2009). In this research, the 'private sector' is understood to be the part of the economy that is owned and controlled by private individuals and business organizations in isolation from state ownership. This includes all types of non-governmental for-profit organisations in both their formal and informal forms. This definition excludes voluntary organisations, as this research considers these organisations to be part of civil society.

In developing countries, the private sector is mainly made up of micro and small enterprises (MSEs), formal and informal registered businesses, and small and medium-sized enterprises (MSEs). Many MSEs are highly transient and operate informally outside the official regulations of investment. They are often limited to farm or trade-based activities which provide income to poor households (DFID, 2005 p. 9).

In a free enterprise economy, the private sector is responsible for allocating most of the resources within the economy by following its self-interest in open and competitive markets, using the supply and demand criteria in order to satisfy more of people's wants (Tiscali, 2008; Watts, 1998). Under conditions of pure competition, where no one has the power to influence or set price – this of course never actually exists - the market

determines the price of a product or a service, and this is affected by supply and demand criteria (JCRA, 2005 p. 5; Renner, 2003). This system of resource allocation is called the 'system of markets'(Watts, 1998).

The market is simply defined as "an array of exchanges that take place in society. Each exchange is undertaken as a voluntary agreement between two people or between groups of people represented by agents" (Rothbard, 2006). This is the 'perfect market' as seen by classical economists (Alexander, 2008). But, the emergence of "formal and predominantly hierarchical organizations and their evolution into formal and informal inter-organizational networks" (Alexander, 2008 p. 124) has turned this simple array into "a highly complex, interacting latticework of exchanges" of goods and services (Rothbard, 2006). Thus, this research uses the term 'market' to express the transfer mechanisms of goods and services between the different components of society.

Civil society – a broader sphere than the community

The word 'community' is densely used in planning theory, policies and legislation. The most common use of 'community' is to refer to a territorial group (Johnston, et al., 2000 p. 101), while the more accurate use is to refer to a group which shares the same interests (Jenkins, 2007).

In ordinary speech, according to Young (1990), the term 'community' refers to "the people with whom one identifies in a specific locale. It refers to neighbourhood, church, schools. It also carries connotations of ethnicity, race, and other group identifications. For most people, a 'community' is a group that shares a specific heritage, a common self-identification, a common culture and set of norms" (Young, 1990 p. 343)

Healey (1996) gave two meanings to 'community'. "The first is spatially based, all those in a place who share a concern and/or are affected by what happens there. The second is stake based, that is, all those who, directly or indirectly, have an interest in or care about what the people in the first community are doing in a place" (Healey, 1996 p. 244).

But, there is still a less common usage of the word 'community' in de-constructing power relations, as "the second image carried in the word 'community' is as an

opposition to a dominating force". This image "draws individuals into a place-based moral order". It "draws individuals together into an aggregate interest, the citizens or 'ordinary people', versus powerful external force" (Healey, 2006 p. 124).

However, the concept of 'community' is now more difficult to pin down because of the broader spatial nature of planning issues and the fact that there is wider spatial interaction between places (Healey, 2006 pp. 122-126). Thus, the appeal of 'community' "can be reinterpreted to mean the assertion of the concerns of accomplishing life strategies and everyday life in the context of the forums and arenas in which political community finds expression, and in which collective activities are organized" (Healey, 2006 p. 126).

This researcher uses the term 'community' to refer to the group of people who share a spatial territory targeted by a certain development (the scale of the territory is decided by the scale of the development e.g. a local neighbourhood targeted for a regeneration project, a region targeted for a new transportation network,… etc), taking into consideration all the social differences this group may have (differences of interest). This definition is less complex and more relevant to the research purpose. This is because the research adopts a case study approach, where two developments are chosen for analysis and those are targeted to two areas. Thus, 'community' here refers to those targeted by the chosen developments. However, the social differences of people included are taken into account due to the effect these differences impose on the structure of society, formal and informal. Furthermore, they affect the institutional structure of the related urban development decision-making. These relations between the structure of civil society and urban development decision-making are further explained in this chapter.

On the other hand, the concept of 'civil society' is a much broader concept which might have been initiated by the recent complex spatial nature of planning under the circumstances of state disability and market competitiveness and self-interest vision of service production (Carley, et al., 2001; Douglass, et al., 1998). For Hall (1998) it is "a form of societal self-organization which allows for co-operation with the state whilst enabling individualism" (Johnston, et al., 2000 pp. 84-85; Hall, 1998).

Civil society exceeds the limits of the concept of 'community', to include all society segments which, in theory, lie outside both the sphere of production (private sector) and the state (Johnston, et al., 2000; Alexander, 2008). However, civil society economic components of non-profit and voluntary organisations form an active part of the production sphere of society, to an extent it is considered in some literature as an extension of the private sector (see Figure 2-1). Furthermore, civil society has a strong effect on the supply and demand of goods and services and, consequently, on the shape and function of the market. Thus, in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated (LSE, 2004). As such, civil society embraces "a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power" (LSE, 2004).

Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups (LSE, 2004). Against this, civil society organizations are classified in many ways—by sector, focus, origins, scale, level of formality, values, or theoretical perspectives. These function in representation[8], technical expertise[9], capacity-building[10], service delivery[11] and various social functions[12]. However, it is important to recognize that civil society organisations (CSOs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) differ in the degree to which they provide these functions (WB, 2000).

The diversity of places, actors, institutional forms, formality and power CSOs have and the differences in the degree of function provision is very much related to the structure of civil society. Carley et al (2001) identified two types of civil society structure, vertical (formal) and horizontal (informal). The first type, shown in Figure 2-1, is usually formally recognised among the other society forces and functions in the economic (cooperatives, companies limited by guarantee, not for profit organisations), social (trusts, charities, NGOs) and cultural (sport clubs, religious groups, music and cultural clubs) areas. However, the areas of function of formal CSOs intertwine and it is

[8] Organizations that aggregate citizen voice.
[9] Organizations that provide information and advice, and lobby on particular issues.
[10] Organizations that provide support to other CSOs, including funding.
[11] Organizations that implement development projects or provide services.
[12] Organizations that foster collective recreational activities.

hard to define end boundaries of each area of function to such an extent that the economic based CSOs are considered in some literature to be an extension of the private sector sphere (Carley, et al., 2001).

The informal, or horizontal, structure of civil society has no formally recognised organisational form but is based on the relations of kinship among members of the society (this is shown in Figure 2-2) (Carley, et al., 2001). This form of civil society is very active especially in the countries of the South and provides all five functions discussed previously. However, (and this applies to this research case study context) this form is specifically active in the area of service provision especially when the formal CSOs are of limited power. This structure of civil society has proven to be well connected with the other two forces in the society, the state and the market, and also the formal structure of civil society, reflecting Jenkins (2007).

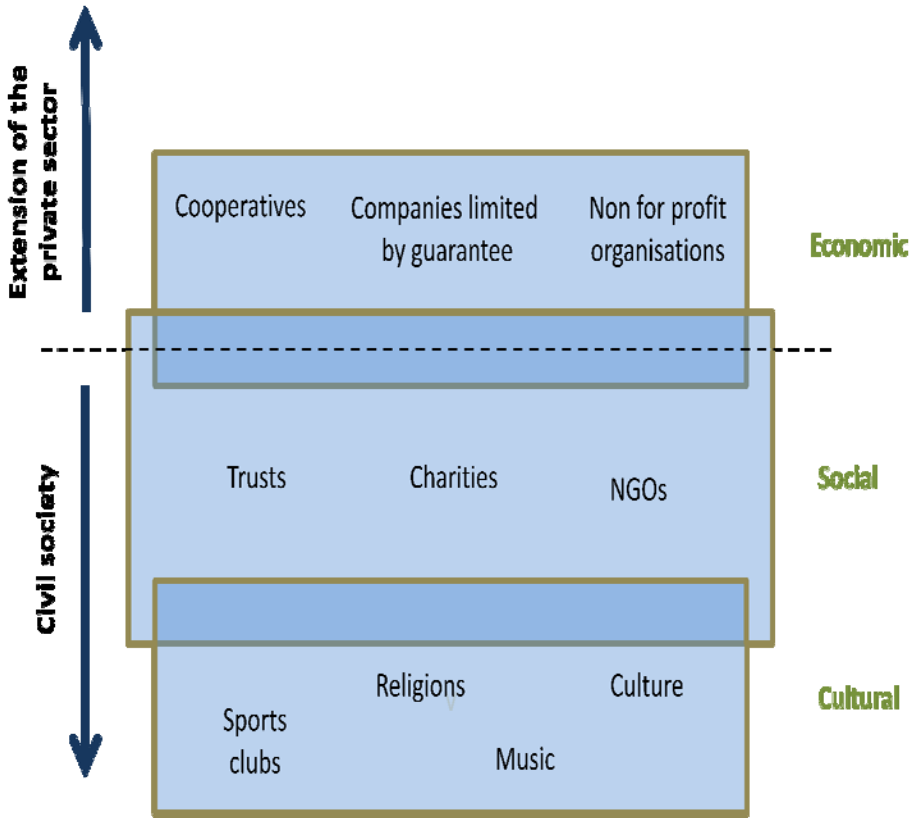


Figure 2-1: The vertical (formal) structure of civil society

Source: The author, with assistance of the second supervisor[13]

[13] The second supervisor is a co-author of Carley, et al (2001) which is a key literature source for the author's views on civil society structure types.

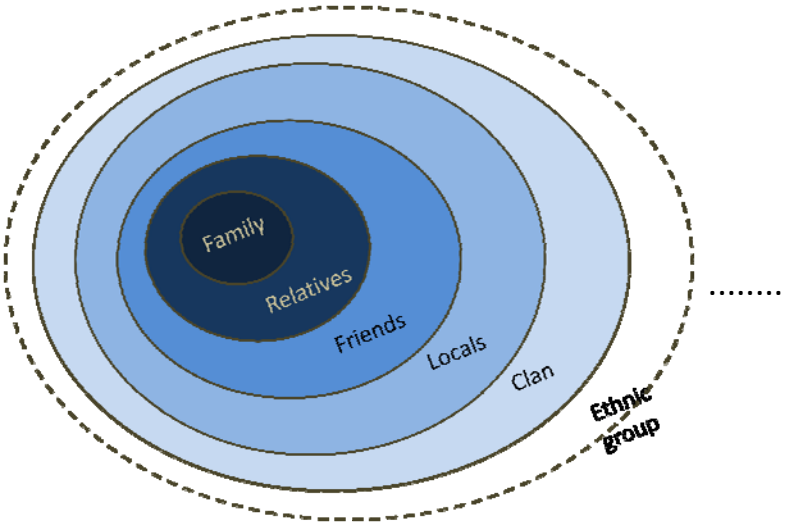


Figure 2-2: The horizontal (informal) structure of civil society

Source: The author, with assistance of the second supervisor

Although it is hard to define the boundaries of civil society in practice, this research considers it to be any non-governmental and non-private sector type of organization in the society. This concept may be clearly defined in theory but is more flexibly defined in practice when approaching the research objectives.

2.2.2 Governance as a concept

The dictionary of human geography identified two different uses of the term 'governance'. The first is consistent with the nature of organizations as it refers to "the involvement of a wide range of institutions and actors in the production of policy outcomes, including non-governmental organizations, quangos, private companies, pressure groups and social movements as well as the state institutions traditionally regarded as a formal part of the government. Here 'governance' is a broader category than 'government', with government being one component of governance among many" (Johnston, et al., 2000 pp. 316-317).

The second definition refers to the nature of the organizations' relationships. Here, governance "refers to a particular form of coordination. In contrast with the top-down control in coordination through hierarchy and the individualized relationship in coordination through markets, governance involves coordination through networks and partnerships" (Johnston, et al., 2000 pp. 316-317).

International agencies, which promote 'good' governance (for example: the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank), tend to adapt a normative definition which is confined in its focus on economic management issues rather than a more analytically and socially oriented one. Michel Camdessus (IMF managing director), for example, suggested that "good governance is important for countries at all stages of development. . . . Our approach is to concentrate on those aspects of good governance that are most closely related to our surveillance over macroeconomic policies—namely, the transparency of government accounts, the effectiveness of public resource management, and the stability and transparency of the economic and regulatory environment for private sector activity." (IMF, 1997).

In contrast, UN agencies see good governance from a more socially oriented perspective[14]. The UN defines 'good governance' as promoting "equity, participation, pluralism, transparency, accountability and the role of law, in a manner that is effective, efficient and enduring" (UN, 2011a). The UN system promotes good governance through many avenues. For example, The UN Development Programme (UNDP) actively supports national processes of democratic transition. The programme focuses on "providing policy advice and technical support and strengthening the capacity of institutions and individuals" by boosting advocacy and communications, public information campaigns and brokering dialogue. It also facilitates 'knowledge networking' and the sharing of good practice (UN, 2011a).

It is now widely accepted that "governance is much more than the formal institutions of government. Governance includes the whole range of actors within society, such as community based or grass-roots organizations, NGOs, trade unions, religious organizations and businesses, both formal and informal, alongside the various branches of government and governmental agencies, both national and local" (Devas, 2001 pp. 5-6). Here it is important to note that governance is different from government as it goes beyond governmental organisations to include other actors in society such as civil society and the private sector. Besides, it is more concerned with the nature of the relationships between these actors rather than being limited to the state's way of managing the country. In recent research, governance is seen as the sphere of

[14] See Appendix 2-2 for further information on UN views of 'good governance', and Appendix 2-1 for UNDP key tasks.

relationships between government, actors of civil society and the private sector, also referring to the processes of interaction between these (Carley, et al., 2001 pp. 16-30).

To conclude, 'governance' is an evolving and contested concept, which is a healthy issue as it invites the possibility for further development towards a wider definition of it. So far, despite the substantial literature on governance, there is no ideal definition. This research uses Carley et al's (2001) definition of 'governance'. This chosen definition may neglect other issues addressed in the literature but is seen to be the most convenient for the purpose of the research, as it is concerned with the relationship between the state, the market and the civil society with focus on the area of planning and how this relationship affects the development process in terms of planning policy-making and decision-making organisational structure.

2.2.3 Community participation as a concept

There is a wealth of literature on the definition of community participation. This section reviews the most common definitions from which the one used in this research has been chosen.

Participation is a "warmly persuasive word which seems never to be used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term" (Williams, 1976 p. 76). Yet, participation "can be attached to very different sets of relations, often seemingly by its 'warmness' distracting close attention from the nature of those relations" (Nelson, et al., 1995 p. 2). According to Burns et al (2004), community participation "concerns the engagement of individuals and communities in decisions about things that affect them." (Burns, et al., 2004 p. 2) while Skindmore et al (2006) defined community participation as the "formal involvement by citizens in the decision-making bodies or structures" (Skidmore, et al., 2006 p. vii).

It has been noticed that decision-making structures and bodies "often tend to create and exacerbate injustice" (Young, 1990 p. 351). Besides, "policy formation in welfare capitalist society tends to be depoliticized and operates through a relatively closed club of interest-group bargainers" (Young, 1990 p. 351). This motivated many theorists to introduce the concept of participation in literature, not only as a way to carry out

planning, but also as a tool for dealing with community differences in order to achieve social democracy.

Thus, it is important to note that 'participation' has many meanings as a "feel-good" word, but "there are fundamental differences between participation as a means and/or an end". Participation as a means is "information, consultation, even devolved decision-making, but with an instrumental objective". But, participation as an end is "the fundamental acceptance of individual or group rights to self-govern" (Jenkins, 2007).

Besides, Burns and Heywood argue that "community participation is not the same as consultation". "Many organizations say that they have a community participation strategy when they mean that they have a consultation strategy. Community participation' means that communities are playing an active part and have a significant degree of power and influence" (Burns, et al., 2004 p. 2).

The researcher uses the concept 'community participation' as an end. This is to refer to the fundamental right to formal involvement of community groups in the decision-making process on the issues related to planning development proposals in their local area.

2.2.4 Participation and sustainable development

Sustainable development has become a 'must present' concept in contemporary planning theory, development studies and international development policy and practice. Development literature has viewed sustainable development to have three dimensions - social, environmental and economic (Campbell, 2003). The social dimension of the concept looks at social justice, economic opportunity, income equality and the provision of services among different social groups. It further concerns levels of social inclusion and exclusion as indicators of sustainable development. The economic dimension looks at issues of production, consumption distribution and innovation with the competitive market. Moreover, this dimension relates to access to adequate income and issues of poverty, while the environmental dimension focuses on natural resources, waste management and possible threats to nature in general (Campbell, 2003 pp. 437-438).

Another dimension has been added to the concept and this concerns the political area in society. This includes issues of administration and institutional capacity, "arguing that sustainability is reflected by the levels an organization is capable to function over the long term, providing services or assuming tasks that lie within its responsibility" (Weber, 2007 p. 37, drawing from Romaya, et al., 2002 p. 4 and Edén, et al., 2000 pp. 260-261). The political dimension further includes issues of procedural equity, participation and public engagement in decision-making processes, arguing that participatory development leads to more sustainable outcomes (Weber, 2007, drawing from Kothari, 2001 and Rydin, 2003 p. 263). In this, and according to Folger et al (1995), "for a society to function effectively, it must keep its membership, engage in efficient and effective production, and sustain the well-being of its members".

In agreement with this, it is recognised by the international development policies that "good urban governance is characterized by the interdependent principles of sustainability, equity, efficiency, transparency and accountability, security, civic engagement and citizenship" (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Thus, the UN emphasises that "participation is a fundamental prerequisite of sustainable development" (UN, 2011c). Furthermore, UN development experts agree that a non-transparent, closed style of policy making "could threaten the consolidation of the new democracies of the developing world". In contrast, "a more inclusionary approach involving, at a minimum, consultation with affected groups was thought to affect the sustainability of policies and improve the prospects for their design and implementation" (Bräutigam, 2004 p. 4).

This thesis uses the concept of sustainable development in a restrictive sense with emphasis on its political dimension which is conceptually introduced under 'governance' earlier. This is because this thesis is concerned with the 'administration' of urban development decision-making with focus on civil society participation in the process by providing an institutional analysis of urban land-use decision making that took place in the chosen case studies for this research. This is to identify the key society forces that dominate the decision-making and organisational structure of the process, in particular the institutional forms of civil society participation (mental models and organisational structure) that contribute to long term collaborative urban governance of sustainable urban land-use.

2.2.5 Participation and power

The concept 'power' and its analysis has been a topic of debate in social sciences since the 1960s. The debate became even more complicated when 'power' was associated with 'participation' and the concept 'empowerment' was introduced. This is due to the idea that 'participation' provides 'power' to the powerless and enables them to realise their potential (Nelson, et al., 1995). Power is described as "access to resources, control of the elements and processes of production, and rights to dispose of products as experienced in face to face relations" within a wider and systematic economic relations. "How people stand in relation to each other in these systems is described as power". Therefore, "power is a description of relations, not a 'thing' which people have" (Nelson, et al., 1995 pp. 7-8).

Literature introduced three models of power – power to; power over; and power through (Jenkins, 2007; Nelson, et al., 1995). The model '**power to**' suggests that "power can grow infinitely if you work at it, and growth of one person does not necessarily negatively affect another" (Nelson, et al., 1995 p. 8). Thus, power is a generative and transformative personal attribute which can be developed via capacity and knowledge building within social relations, where people undergo and exercise power (Hartsock, 1990). However, empowerment in this is understood as a "multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power in people for use in their own lives, their communities and in their society, by acting on issues they define as important" (Page, et al., 1999).

In contrast to the expression of growth used in the 'power to' model, '**power over**' involves "gaining access to 'political' decision-making, often in public forums" where power is a 'thing' of "a finite amount in a closed system". In this, gaining power would be at the expense of other (Jenkins, 2007; Nelson, et al., 1995). Power in this form was found in observable conflicts where one party dominated the other and made them do "what they would not otherwise have done" (Dahl, 1961; Polsby, 1963; Nelson, et al., 1995 p. 9). Another image to express power in this model was found in invisible conflicts where "one party established barriers which prevented others from voicing their interests, let alone getting them on the agenda" (Bachrach, et al., 1970; Nelson, et al., 1995 p. 9). A third image of power in this model was to give the dominant party

interests a "god-given" nature where no alternative to the situation quo was possible (Lukes, 1974; Nelson, et al., 1995). 'Power over', therefore, expressed power to be coercive and centred in the governmental institutions. In this, empowerment happens when power is taken from one party to be given to another – i.e. the sum of power is always a "zero sum" (Jenkins, 2007; Nelson, et al., 1995).

The third model of power is '**power through**'. This refuted the idea of power as a subject that can be possessed and exercised by any party considered 'powerful' (Ferguson, 1990). Alternatively, power in this model is a "subjectless" element "consisting of discourse, institutions, actors and a flow of events. These interact invisibly with a logic that is only apparent afterwards, to draw or tie in more and more relations within the ambit of the state" (Nelson, et al., 1995 p. 10). This model, therefore, suggests that systems work through a process of struggle which runs through a series of events and has unexpected outcomes (Nelson, et al., 1995).

Empowerment in this model depends on two things: power changes and power expands, but "always involves forms of dominance and subjection, albeit often accepted and sometimes negotiated" (Jenkins, 2007). In this, empowerment is the aim to find "more spaces of control" via changing attitudes and behaviour to alter power differentials in relationships (Giddens, 1984; Nelson, et al., 1995). Nonetheless, there is no end definition for the concept, as empowerment is a "construct shared by many disciplines and arenas[15], and how empowerment is understood varies among these perspectives (Page, et al., 1999). Rapport (1984) noted that empowerment is easy to define by its absence but difficult to define in action, as it takes different forms in different contexts (Rapport, 1984).

Three attitudes to 'empowerment' can be identified. The first "does not entail necessary conflict and can be promoted in a top-down manner". The second, however, always involves conflict and "can only be effective if derived from a bottom-up initiative". The third attitude requires "understanding the prevalent power relations and how these can – and should – change" (Jenkins, 2007). This understanding of empowerment, however, raises an essential question of "how can empowerment be initiated by those who have

[15] These include community development, psychology, education, economics and studies of social movements and organisations, among others (Page, et al., 1999).

'power over' others when "any notion of empowerment being given by one group to another hides an attempt to keep control?" (Rowlands, 1992 p. 52). In this, the potentially bottom-up concept of empowerment can be used to perpetuate and disguise continued top-down attitudes and approaches to gain control (Rowlands, 1992; Nelson, et al., 1995). Thus, this research attempted to analyse power relations within the Syrian context in order to highlight the possibilities for civil society empowerment for a more efficient participation process to take place.

2.3 Urban governance and urban development decision-making

2.3.1 The role of democracy, decentralisation and planning legislation

The governance context in any society is widely affected by the political system which is the main determinant of the size and nature of the sphere of interaction between society forces. One political system widely adapted by a large number of countries is democracy (Weber, 2007). Democracy is an ambiguous concept with no pinned down definition (Abrahamson, 2000 p. 67). However, one side of the concept, and this is related to this thesis context, looks at how it organizes the state and civil society participation.

Literature defines a number of components of democracy. These are, first, broad competition among individuals and groups for the major positions of power; a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies; and a level of civil and political liberties[16] in order to guarantee the reliability of political competition and participation (Weber, 2007, drawing from Dahl, 1971; Martinussen, 2003 p. 195).

Nonetheless, many contemporary democracies in the South have adopted only minimalist form of participatory models, arguing that applying participation in wider ways is unrealistic (Abrahamson, 2000). Participation is limited to elections, leaving other areas of society administration exclusively in the hands of the state. This indicates that participation is not a given result of democracy. Rather, any democratic system under study should be analysed in order to identify the existence and functioning of

[16] These are freedom of expression, freedom of the press and freedom to form and join organizations.

participation spaces within its institutional context. However, despite the minimal participatory model within the democracies of the South, many of these have increasingly shifted towards decentralisation, enabling a potential space for participation at the local level (Weber, 2007, drawing from McCarney, et al., 1995 p. 121).

Decentralisation is not a new concept within international development circles and is increasingly adopted by the democracies of the South as the tenet of 'good governance'. Furthermore, government decentralisation is considered a gradual process of reform where powers, functions, responsibilities and resources (administrative, political, economic, and land issues) are transferred from central to local governments - and/or to other decentralized entities howsoever defined – which are closer, better understood and more easily influenced by the public. This is because decentralized governance is believed to provide a structural arrangement that secures better interaction among society forces to promote development. This has the potential to enhance the level of civil society participation in local governance and development process (Wekwete, 2004; Kauzya, 2004).

The increasing belief in this connection between decentralised governance and civil society participation is due to the fact that decentralisation has the potential to address key obstacles to sustainable development such as "the severe limitations of centralized planning and management; the over-concentration of power, authority, and resources at the centre; the weak contact between government and local people, including civil society and the private sector; the lack of equity in the allocation of resources; the insufficient representation of various political, religious, ethnic and tribal groups in the decision-making process; the inadequate exchange of information; and the inefficiency of service delivery modalities" (Wekwete, 2004 p. 5). Moreover, government decentralisation is believed to be able to place power within the level of government that is most knowledgeable about the needs of the public. Thus, this government has the potential to produce and implement far more responsive development policies and outcomes than the government of the centre which is politically, physically, and mentally distant from the people (Wekwete, 2004).

However, although many countries of the South are promoting decentralisation as a measurement of 'good governance' and 'democracy', it is important to note that there is

only little evidence that decentralization has performed positively at all times and in all places. Some countries have put in place policies of decentralization but they lack the essential capacities for their implementation. Others are still politically hesitant, not sure of, or maybe not willing to acknowledge, the role of decentralized governance in democratization, people empowerment, and poverty reduction (Kauzya, 2004). Therefore, it is restrictive to assume the existence of a definite relationship between democratic decentralization, local governance and poverty reduction, or between democratic participation and allocative efficiency (Wekwete, 2004; Weber, 2007).

Hence, it is important for the argument of this thesis to recognise the limits of increasing adoption of decentralisation in the countries of the South as a measurement of good governance and democracy. More power, responsibilities and resources are allocated at the local level of the government and this, sometimes, has the potential to increase civil society participation and development efficiency. However, it is important to acknowledge that increased participation is not a definite outcome of decentralised government, but the local governance institutional context is an important determinant of the existence and function of civil society participation.

The governance characteristics within any given context are usually determined by a legal framework that organises the social actors' relations and those of their institutional forms. This applies to the urban context where urban development, urban management and the processes of urbanisation are enabled via certain regulatory frameworks (formal or informal) which form the urban development mental models in any given context[17]. In this, the urban development legal framework is the determinant of levels of participation in urban development process. Giving participation institutional characteristics shaped by a legal framework is fundamental to creating space for civil society to participate in urban development within the governance context examined. This was introduced in the countries of the North during the late 1960s and early 1970s by laying down laws that made public consultation a statutory requirement for urban decision-making (Sewell, et al., 1977).

However, decision-making within the urban context, and other governance areas, is not fully structured by the formal legal framework. Many countries of the South have

[17] This is drawn from (McAuslan, 1998) cited in (Weber, 2007) but added to by the author.

experienced dramatic political, social and economic changes which have translated into a high pace of urbanisation, hence urban development frameworks and their related institutional structures, where they were embedded, became out of date (Azevedo, 1998 p. 260). Consequently, informal approaches to urban development decision-making have prevailed, establishing a new framework of urban institutions. According to Healey (1997), systems of clientelism and patronage are two examples of these approaches where legal and non-legal factors of urban development decision-making overlap via socially based interactive relations between politicians and officials (Healey, 1997). These informal practices of urban development decision-making are often hidden from democratic scrutiny and are usually considered a form of corruption. Nonetheless, informal practices have also proven capable of enabling a wider space of civil society participation, and in some cases control, in/over urban development decision-making.

Within the context of this thesis, it is important to recognise the vitality of institutionalising participation in a formal legal framework to create a space for civil society input in land-use urban decision-making. Having said this, it is also important to acknowledge and understand the existence and efficiency of informal approaches to land-use decision-making and the socially-based linkages of these with the formal institutionalism of urban decision-making.

These formal and informal frameworks were referred to by Carley, et al (2001) as ‘development mental models’, and were considered determinants of the organisational structures of the entities that affect urban decision-making within the examined governance context. The author shares Carley, et al (2001) this perspective and uses the term ‘mental models’ to mean any type of frameworks, formal in the form of laws and regulations or informal in the form of socially accepted principles and practices, that guide/control the process of urban development and shape its related organisational structures both vertically and horizontally. Understanding these mental models and their resulting organisational structures form what is called the institutional analysis of (in relation to this thesis interest) urban development decision-making. Institutionalism as an analytical concept and the different approaches to urban development institutional analysis are explained in further detail in the following sub-section.

2.3.2 The institutional analysis of urban development

Institutional issues are present in every urban development debate, as it concerns the planning and management of resources in order to potentially achieve aspects of sustainable development explained earlier. However, to achieve this, it is important to define who is the planner and the manager, their capacities, the legal framework within which they function and, hence, areas for possible improvement within this framework and its resulting organisational structure in order to increase the efficiency of the planning system within any given governance context (Devas, et al., 1993 cited in Haddad, 2009).

Institutions can be defined as "organizations or sets of conventions, policies or legislation which regularize social behaviour. Institutions operate at all levels from the household to the international arena and in all spheres from the most private to the most public" (Matsaert, 2002 p. 2). In social sciences, institutional analysis "responds to the question of which organizations carry out policy reforms, and what are their characteristics? It can be conceived as the stakeholder analysis of the government agencies, non-government organizations and firms that implement or support the public action choices that underlie a policy reform studies" (WB, 2009b p. 1).

In this, institutional analysis is used to "assess the capacity and behaviour of organizations that carry out reforms. It helps identify constraints within an organization that may undermine policy implementation. Such constraints may exist at the level of internal processes, relationships among organizations, or system-wide. Institutional analysis evaluates formal institutions, such as rules, resource allocation, and authorization procedures. It also evaluates 'soft' institutions, such as informal rules of the game, power relations and incentive structures, that underlie current practices. In the latter sense, it identifies organizational stakeholders that are likely to support or obstruct a given reform" (WB, 2009b p. 1).

In the context of urban planning, literature has emphasised the linkage between a comprehensive institutional approach and good planning governance, for more sustainable outcomes. For example, Healey (1997) acknowledged the emergence of a paradigm shift in understanding planning from the 1970s rational comprehensive model

using political economy analysis, to an institutional and communicative approach in the late 1990s. In this, Healey (2007) emphasised the importance of examining the spheres of relations and institutional sites that link different groups in society together as they interact through a diffused urban governance context. Governance, in this sense was defined by Healey (2007) to be the landscape that "focuses on strategies that treat the territory of the urban not just as a container in which things happen, but as a complex mixture of nodes and networks, places and flows, in which multiple relations, activities and values co-exist, interact, combine, conflict, oppress and generate creative synergy" (Healey, 2007 p. 18).

To analyse urban planning governance, Healey (2007) provided a three-level analytical framework. The first level examines the interactions which occurred in a specific event of spatial strategy-making. The second level is an institutional approach which looks at the routines of practices and discourses of the formal government established agencies and the informal groups and networks (Healey, 2007). These two levels provide an analysis of the society actors and their spheres of relations. The third level of Healey's analytical framework is concerned more with the 'cultural assumptions' of those involved in 'doing governance' and their prioritising to come to a more suitable governance module (Healey, 2007). In other words, the third level examines the urban mental models/frameworks (formal or informal) that shape the structure of the given governance context.

Another example of institutional analysis of urban development governance was introduced by Jenkins and Smith (2001) who proposed three paradigms to label the stages of planning evolution during the 20th century, to shift from a rational to a relative perspective of viewing planning as shown in Table 2-1. The first is the command and control paradigm which is of a fixed vision of urban development translated in 'master plans' or 'blue-prints'. In this, planning was of a central nature where the government had full power over decision-making. This model of planning, however, was widely criticised in the 1960s, leading planning to shift to the second paradigm of planning as 'a process of conflict mediation'. In this, a range of interests started to find opportunities to make their voice heard within the system, reducing the government's control over decision-making. This challenged the political-administrative nexus to keep control of both processes and agendas during the 1980s (Healey, 1995).

Table 2-1: Paradigms of planning

	Nature of planning	**Planning techniques**	**Predominance in planning**	**Division of power**	**Assumed nature of relation**	**Philosophy**
First paradigm	Fixed vision of the future (blue print)	Master plans Zoning	State planners	Government	Common consensus exists	Rationalism
Second paradigm	Flexible vision and specific action	Structural plans, action plans, special development areas	Public-private partnership	Government with private sector	Common consensus has to be created	Rationalism
Third paradigm	No fixed vision	Above techniques with participatory planning	Negotiation forums	Government, private sector and civil society	Conflict needs negotiation	Relativism

Source: (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 25)

This new model of interaction led planning to further shift to the third paradigm of 'inter discursive policy formation' – which is based (according to Jenkins and Smith, 2001), on embedding planning practice in its social context where planning policies are based upon the wide range of interests of society actors via a collaborative consensus building rather than competitive interest bargaining.

In the paradigm shift described above, Jenkins and Smith (2001) used an institutionalist analytical framework to describe the evolution of the planning process. This consists of three themes. The first examines the key actors who affect the process: the state, the market and the civil society, and their interests and spheres of relations. The second theme – and this is very much dependent on the results of the first one – is an institutional analysis which is concerned with the mental models – and this includes the formal legal frameworks and the informal socially accepted frameworks – which shape the relations of the actors into an organisational structure of interaction relevant to the given urban context. The third theme focuses on the local/global relationship, "how local action can act within global context and how global forces adjust to local needs" (Haddad, 2009, drawing from Jenkins, et al., 2001). The shift in the roles of the state, the market and civil society and their associated institutional changes of mental models and organisational structures is the norm for planning evaluation examination introduced in Jenkins and Smith paradigms shown in Table 2-1.

Table 2-2:Examples of different institutional analysis approaches addressed in urban development literature

Author	**Year**	**Institutional analytical framework**
Healey	2007	Three-level governance performance analytical framework - Specific episodes: • actors – roles, strategies, interests • arenas – institutional sites - Governance processes: • networks and coalitions • discourses – languages, metaphor, derived from frames of reference • practices - Governance cultures • range of accepted modes of governance • range of embedded cultural values • formal and informal processes of critique through which governing processes are rendered legitimate
Jenkins and Smith in (Carley, et al.)	2001	- The relationships between the state, market and civil society - The institutional structure (mental models and organization) - The local and global context
Jenkins and Wilkinson	2002	- Institutional ordering in relation to: • economy • society • governance - Social ends in terms of four themes: • the impact of globalisation processes on the local economies • demographic and socio-economic dynamics within the local populations • changes in established or emerging systems of urban governance or management • the implications of all these for physical urban development processes

Source: The author[18]

In another study carried out by Jenkins and Wilkinson (2002) on the cities of Maputo and Cape Town, the authors introduced a conceptual framework to assess the institutional capacities of cities to respond to global challenges. In this, the authors first viewed the cities' formal and informal 'institutional ordering' in relation to three broad categories: economy, society and governance. The authors then examined the sometimes implicit social ends or purposes served by that order. This was done later in

[18] The first two authors are similarly addressed in (Haddad, 2009 p. 55).

terms of four inter-related themes, the impact of globalisation processes on the local economies; demographic and socio-economic dynamics within the local populations; changes in established or emerging systems of urban governance or management; and the implications of all these for physical urban development processes.

Table 2-2 above summarises the institutional analysis frameworks introduced by the authors reviewed above. This is to provide an informed background for the commentary discussion and the adoption of the analytical framework used for the purposes of this thesis introduced later on in this chapter.

2.3.3 A collaborative approach to development decision-making – the participation of civil society in urban development decision-making

The system of markets was thought - first by the classical economist Smith (1976) - to be able to promote economic efficiency and individual freedom because it involves a great degree of decentralisation in resource allocation (ownership and management) (Watts, 1998). This concept established the base of the neo-liberal approaches (which started in the North and recently spread to the South). This caused the market to dominate production especially in the last few decades which witnessed a dramatic shrinkage of the role of the state (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 20).

This state-market conflict has been reflected in the field of planning, as literature addressed two ways to approach planning: "the one way is public planning, i.e. planning that is directly or indirectly associated with state intervention and action; the other way is not-planning, i.e. the 'free' non-planning and unplanned-for market" (Alexander, 2008 p. 121).

More recent literature argues that this dichotomy of 'planning' and 'the market' is demonstrably false, especially with the increasing complexity of planning issues which have "blurred the boundary between the public sector and the 'private' market" (Alexander, 2008 p. 121). Partial privatization and 'third party governance' have diluted the public sector, which is no longer the exclusive domain of sovereign state bureau (Alexander, 2008 p. 121, drawing from Palumbo, 1987 pp. 97-99). Besides, the private market has proved not to be as perfect as the classical economists claimed (Alexander,

2008), but has evolved to build relationships, on the one hand, with the state (public sector) and, on the other hand, with civil society (Carley, et al., 2001).

In relation to the state, the market has established what Carley et al (2001), drawing from Harvey (1990), called 'flexible capital accumulation' which is basically "more flexible labour processes and markets, geographical mobility and rapid shifts in consumption practices" (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 20). This economic reform of the relationship between the state and the private market has been addressed in various forms of what is called 'market-modifying governance' (Alexander, 2008, drawing from Williamson, 1975) and 'economic policy reforms' (Rodrik, 1989). These policy reforms tend in many countries (especially in the South) to involve a great deal of uncertainty, especially in relation to structural as well as microeconomic features, which can act as a heavy tax on investment, and otherwise sensible reforms may prove damaging if they raise doubts as to their permanence (Rodrik, 1989). This uncertainty increased with the emergence of complex private sector organisations (as formal and predominantly hierarchical organizations evolved into formal and informal inter-organizational networks). This has changed the relation between markets and planning, as the latter has started to be seen in the market rather than in opposition to it especially when the collective outcomes of such complex market structures have proven to be in need of a wider form of planning (Alexander, 2008).

In relation to civil society, the market has experienced "a shift from the consumption of goods to the consumption of services" (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 20). Yet, "the production of long-term physical goods, such as housing and infrastructure, becomes less attractive to the market" (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 20) which contributed to cause urban problems rather than solving them with its narrow vision of the future named by Douglass et al (1998) - the vision of 'more'. On the other hand, the state seems to be unable to provide such services during this age of the retreat of national governments and the emergence of international government (Douglass, et al., 1998 p. 12).

Here civil society appears to take on board the task of providing these goods (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 20). This started in the form of social democratic movements which believed in the principles of justice and humanity "against a potentially despotic state" (Douglass, et al., 1998 p. 21, drawing from Keane, 1988a; 1988b) and started to have a

voluntary, non-governmental organisational form whose boundaries sometimes exceed the limits of a country into the universal sphere as shown in Figure 2-4 (e.g. women's rights and environmental protection organisations which have become of a global scale) (Carley, et al., 2001; Douglass, et al., 1998).

This emergence of civil society as an actor in the public sphere (Douglass, et al., 1998) has introduced a third way of planning different from the previous two. Civil society has proven to be a competitive power for dealing with uncertainty raised by unpredictability among the three forces of society (Douglass, et al., 1998). The civil society organisations have proven to have all the skills associated with the planning profession – "applying knowledge to action, defining issues, mobilizing participation, and reconciling conflicts, evaluating the potential impact of policies and their performance, and designing a framework for collaboration" (Douglass, et al., 1998 p. 12).

The achievement of such collaboration however requires the state, the market and civil society organisations to "adopt a unified governance": horizontal (state, market and civil society) and vertical (top-down and bottom-up) integration (Alexander, 2008 p. 124). This makes planning become "associated with the organisations and inter-organisational systems" that exist in and span between the state, the private sector and the civil society" (Alexander, 2008 p. 125). Only this can overcome uncertainty bringing the development decision making process into the field of transparency and accountability.

When examining the process of this collaboration, civil society has become a key designer of the new state-market relationships. On one hand, it is the determiner of the transaction (defined by Alexander (2008 pp. 122-123) as any exchange of resources between parties whether these be money, goods or services) type and amount via its effect on the supply and demand process (see Figure 2-3). On the other hand, the state's economic regulations, which control and sometimes empower the market (Alexander, 2008) are, ideally, a reflection of civil society's principles and objectives through the process of participation (see Figure 2-3) (Carley, et al., 2001). In other words, the economy is "embedded in, and controlled by the society" (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 190, drawing from Karl Polanyi, 1957). Consequently, "rather than the market creating equilibrium, it is society and its organizations which do – and the state is essentially, and ideally, meant to be a socially representative organism" (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 190).

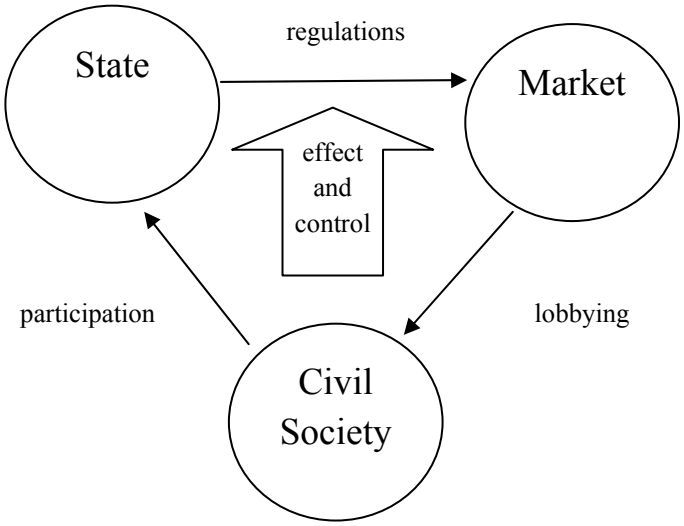


Figure 2-3: Links between state, market and civil society
Source: (Carley, et al., 2001 p. 190) modified by the author

Here, it is important to note that collaboration in this relationship is theoretical, and this decentralization of decision-making is very idealistic (Carley, et al., 2001; Douglass, et al., 1998). In practice, decentralization tends to have a conservative nature and is limited to the decentralization, and sometimes the abandonment, of responsibility for action albeit keeping decision-making tightly centralized and controlled by the state as a consequence of bureaucratic mindsets and traditional 'gate keeping' roles (Marginn, 2004; Carley, et al., 2001; Douglass, et al., 1998). In other words, this collaborative relationship between state, market and civil society will constantly be affected by "the impulses of withdrawal, blame and defensive autonomy". Besides, there will always be a "leader" who will seek to take advantage of this opportunity in self-interest (Douglass, et al., 1998 p. 15).

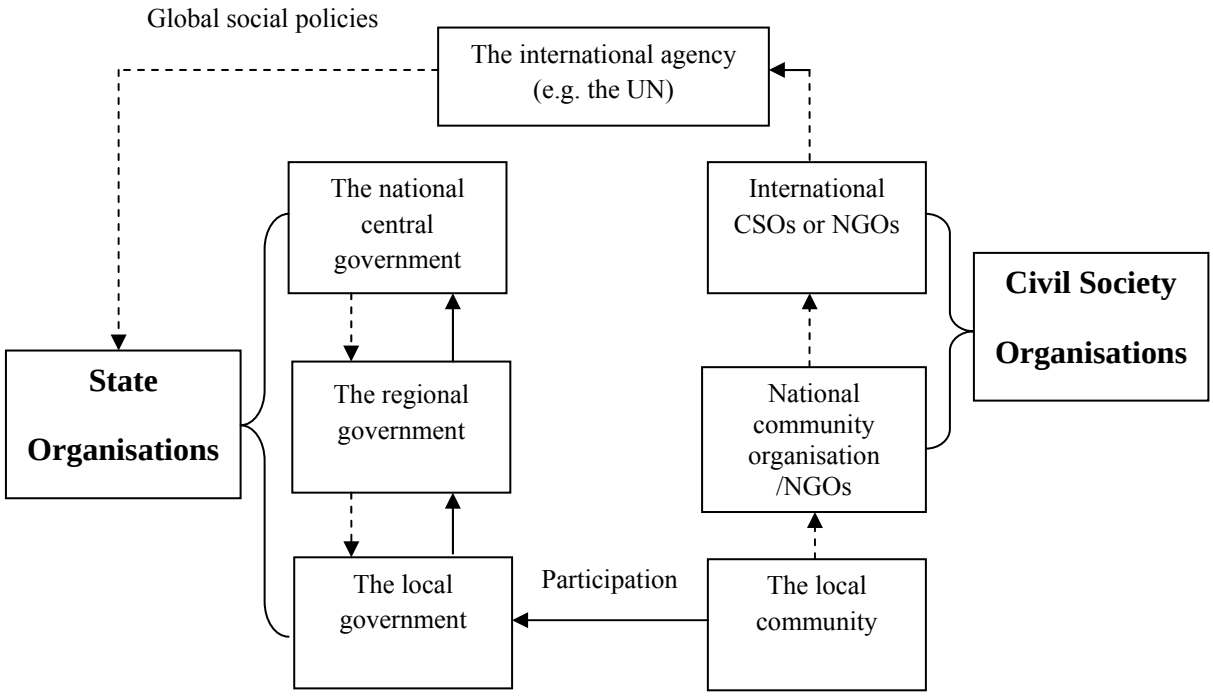


Figure 2-4: State-civil society relationship (bottom-up and top-down participation)

Source: The author.

At present, the three forces of society have become more complex, as "organizations have broken out of the limits of hierarchical control, and planning has become an interactive process for concerting the divergent interests and objectives of different units" (Alexander, 2008 p. 125). Besides, the interdependence of internal and external stakeholders and their organisations has grown, blurring the distinction between an organization and its environment (Alexander, 2008 p. 125).

At this stage we are no longer talking about planning in organizations (state, market or civil society) but planning in complex multiple actor inter-organizational systems (Alexander, 2008 p. 125, drawing from Hopkins, 2001; Hopkins, et al., 2009; Neuman, 2007) or what Maginn (2004 p. 14) called a "pluralistic turn" in development decision-making and what this research defines as 'development governance'. Most of the planning we experience is of this kind, from the global strategic planning to the metropolitan-regional master plan that aims to concert the decisions and actions of the diverse actors in its network of governments, public agencies, households, firms, developers and other interested parties (Alexander, 2008 p. 125).

To conclude, the failure of the state and market to deliver social services, the emergence of civil society as a competitive force in service delivery and the increasing complexity and diversity of the three forces/organisations of society and their interests have brought planning, on all levels, into the field of complex organisational processes. This emphasises the need to follow a social multi-dimensional relationship framework among these three which is able to overcome uncertainty in the development process while benefiting from the new economic opportunities offered by the global market and the international government rather than rejecting them. This requires the needs and interests of these three forces to be addressed on the one hand, and the strengthening of the organisational forms of civil society and their international links on the other. This will turn the planning process into a form of governance engaged with all three parties in complex ways – but able to deliver more sustainable development.

2.4 Commentary discussion and adoption of analytical framework

The discussion under sub-section 2.3.2 showed that using an institutional approach when examining urban planning can provide a relative framework for understanding urban development processes and managements within a given governance context. This is because institutionalism is concerned with the variables of actors (state, market and civil society); relations; mental models and organisational forms which differ from one context to another in accordance with the political, economic and social characteristics of the given context. This, on the other hand, is greatly affected by the wider global development sphere and vice versa. Figure 2-5 reflects the mutual relationship between the society actors and the local governance context, and between the latter and the wider global context of urban development.

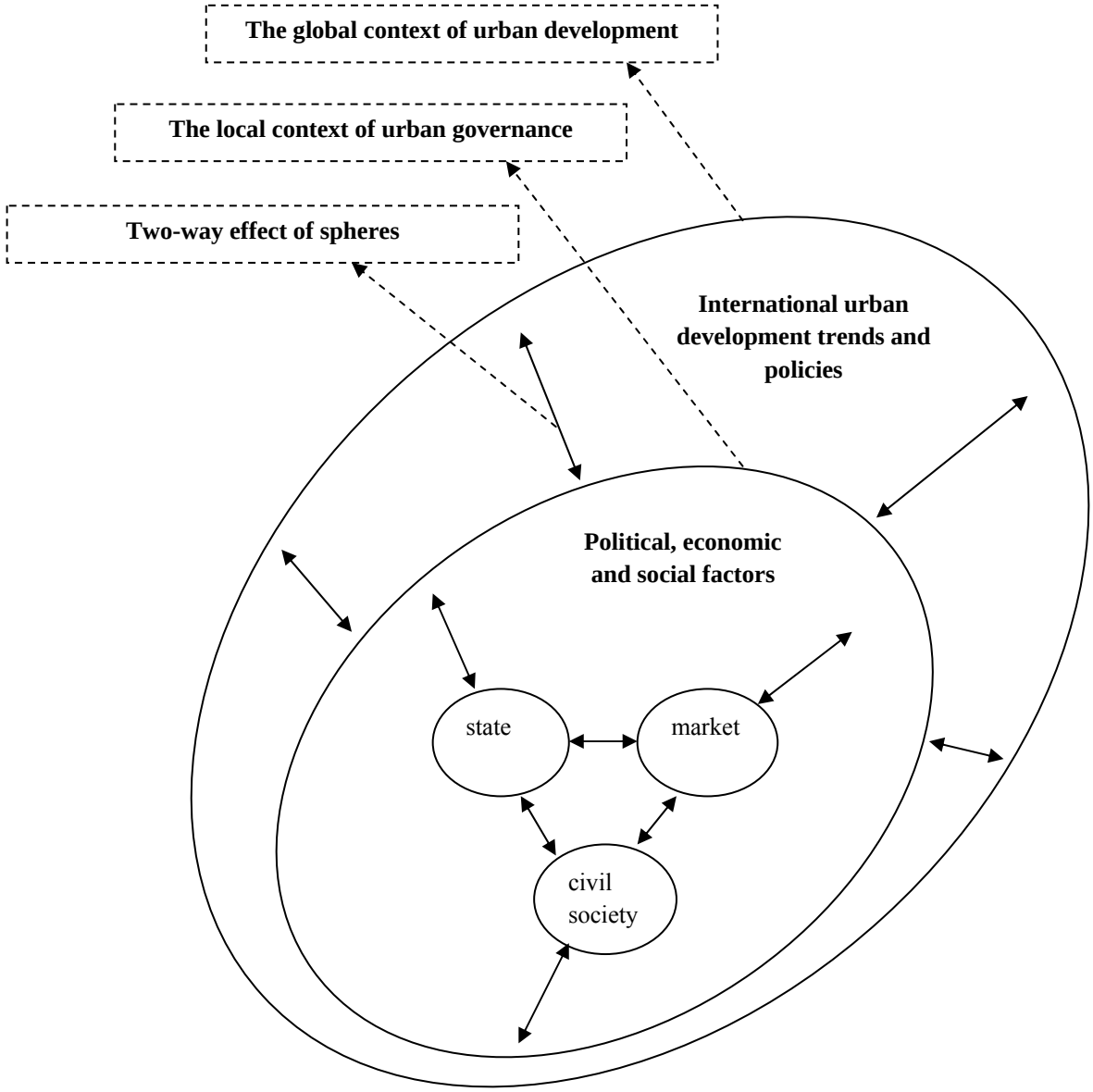


Figure 2-5: The mutual relations among society actors, the local governance context and the global context of urban development

Source: The author

In the context of this thesis, the author adopts a part of the analytical framework applied by Jenkins and Smith (2001) on different case studies around the world to understand the nature of urban governance. The author tries to modify this framework to be applicable to the case of Syria. The analytical framework consists of two parts, the first part leads to the second (see Figure 2-6). The first part is to define and analyse the nature and interests of the main society forces which affect urban development decision-making on the one hand, and to understand the sphere of relationships between these forces on the other. The nature of the relationship among society forces forms the urban

development governance context. This context leads to an understanding of the mental models of urban development institutions, which is the second part of the analytical framework that, additionally, examines the organisational forms of urban development within the studied context.

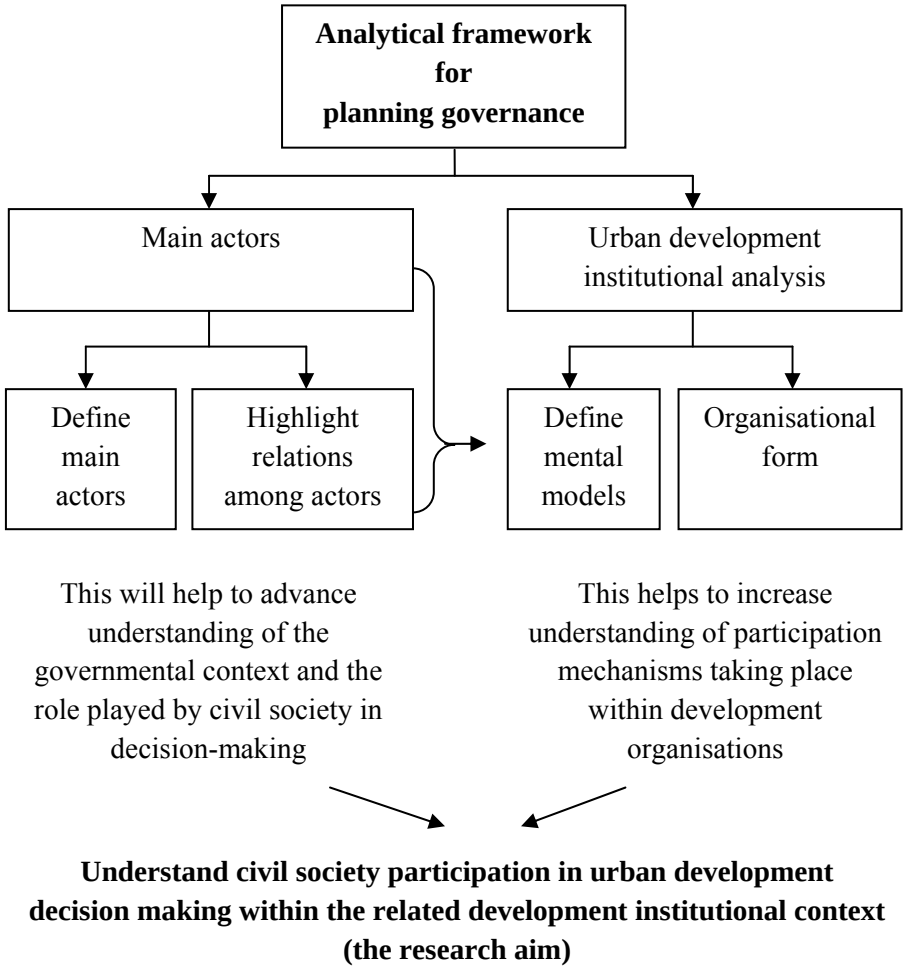


Figure 2-6: The research analytical framework

Source: The author

This analytical framework will help to achieve the aim of this research by establishing an understanding of civil society participation in urban development decision-making within the development institutional context of the chosen case studies for this research. For this, literature related to the Syrian context has been reviewed and this is introduced in the following Chapter three. The application of the analysis framework shown in Figure 2-6 is further explained under analysis methods in the research methodology in Chapter four, and the actual application to the research case studies is introduced in the analysis in Chapter six.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced a literature review in relation to development governance, public participation and institutional analysis. This is in order to fulfil the research's first objective by answering its questions, which are the following:

1.1 What are the main forces in the society who are in control of development decision-making?
1.2 What is the position of civil society in the governance sphere, as addressed in both theory and international development policy?
1.3 What is the institutional context of land-use planning, in terms of both the mental models (which form the planning governance context) and the organisational forms (which reflects and further affects this context), and how does this allow the space to form and guide an efficient mechanism of civil society participation?

In this, and in response to research question 1.1, the chapter has reviewed different approaches to defining the concepts of 'state', 'market' and 'civil society' as the main forces of the society which affect urban development with emphasis on the chosen definitions for the purposes of this thesis. The chapter also reviewed the literature's definitions of 'governance' and 'participation' and their effect on promoting sustainable development. This is to clarify the dimensions of each concept when used in this thesis.

The chapter then responded to research question 1.2 by reviewing the theoretical arguments and international agencies' (for example the UN) views on the role of democracy and decentralisation in determining civil society's position and sphere of influence in urban development decision-making in any given governance context. Furthermore, the chapter discussed the effect of urban development legislation and socially accepted frameworks in institutionalising public participation in terms of securing a process space and function within the urban development process.

Following this, and in response to research question 1.3, a review of the meaning of 'institutionalism' was introduced to define the use of the concept in social sciences and

within the urban development context, which is the concern of this thesis. Furthermore, a number of examples of institutional approaches to examining urban planning by different authors have been reviewed along with a discussion of the interactive nature of society forces and its potential to promote better governance of urban development. This has been to provide an informed theoretical background for considering a suitable analytical framework that serves the purpose of this research. The analytical framework used in this thesis was then introduced within a brief commentary discussion that showed the author's understanding of the interactive nature of the local and global spheres of urban development governance and, in this, the institutional approach to examining civil society participation in urban development decision-making in any given governance context.

The following Chapter three reviews the urban governance context of Syria at the national level and Damascus at the local level of the chosen case studies of this research. This is to provide an informed background of the urban development governance context where the developments of the chosen case studies took place.

Chapter three: Introduction to the Syrian context – A closer look at Damascus

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the political and socio-economic context of Syria. This is to provide a better understanding of the research case study context. In this, the chapter responds to the following research key questions:

1.4 What type of governance, state-market-civil society relationship, currently exists in Syria?
2.1 What form of urban development organisation currently exists in Syria?
2.2 What are the civil society participation policies that are encouraged by the UNDP in Syria?
2.3 What participation mechanisms currently exist in Syria in terms of urban development?

Data used for this chapter has been mainly drawn from grey literature[19] which varied from academic thesis, reports or papers, international agencies' reports, country profiles and central and local government documents, reports and memos to Syrian press and personal memos. Some information was also obtained from informal interviews held during the first field trip to Damascus in March 2009. This is in addition to primary data provided via the semi-structured interviews held with key informants from the three sectors of the society during the second field trip in March-April 2010.

[19] "Grey Literature" is literature (often of a scientific or technical nature) that is not available through the usual bibliographic sources such as databases or indexes. It can be both in print and, increasingly, electronic formats (e.g. technical reports, pre-prints, fact sheets, working papers, committee reports, newsletters ...etc). Grey literature is produced by government agencies, universities, corporations, research centres, associations and societies, and professional organizations. Grey literature, due to its diverse origins and unpublished nature, can be difficult to find. "Grey literature is often found by searching for the agency or institution who is most likely to produce the literature. The search may require looking at a large number of sources. The World Wide Web has made the dissemination of gray literature easier and advances will continue in the future" (California State University (CSU), 2009).

All this data, however, was not linked together to fit into a clearly defined framework of urban development governance in terms of land use decision-making actors, process and the position of participation in this. Thus, a key research contribution in this chapter is to draw these issues together and clearly define Syrian society's three main actors, the type of interaction between them and the effect of this on urban development decision-making process in terms of land use.

The chapter initially gives a summary about Syria in terms of the state, economy and society. Furthermore, the chapter highlights the main characteristics of the relationship between the state, the market and civil society and how this is affected by the UNDP. In this, the chapter looks into how mental models currently affect planning governance in the country and contribute to shaping development organisational structures. The chapter then focuses on the local urban development decision-making context in Damascus. Here, the key actors are discussed and their spheres of relations are highlighted in relation to urban land-use decision-making. In this, related legal instruments are reviewed and the urban land-use decision-making process is discussed, in order to understand the current opportunities available for civil society to participate in this process, with reflections of the impact on urban development in the city. This is to provide an informed background of the local urban development context of the city of Damascus as a basis for analysing the case studies chosen for this research.

3.2 Syria: issues of the state, economy and society

The state

The Syrian Arab Republic (SAR), known as Syria, is located on the eastern side of the Mediterranean Basin (see the highlighted area in Figure 3-1), is a Middle Eastern country (see the highlighted area in Figure 3-2) with 185,200 km^2 of land area (WB, 2008) and has a population of 21,660,000 (July 2010 est.) with an annual growth rate of 2.37% (2010 est. MAM, 2008 p. 3). Syria is divided into 14 governorates (see Figure 3-3). The capital and largest city of the country is Damascus, with a population of 1,552,000 (this is 8.7% of the total population of the country) (2004 est., see

Appendix 3-2). Other major cities include Aleppo (Halab), Homs (Hims), Latakia (Ladhiquiah), and Hama (Hamah) (CBoS, 2007a p. 27).

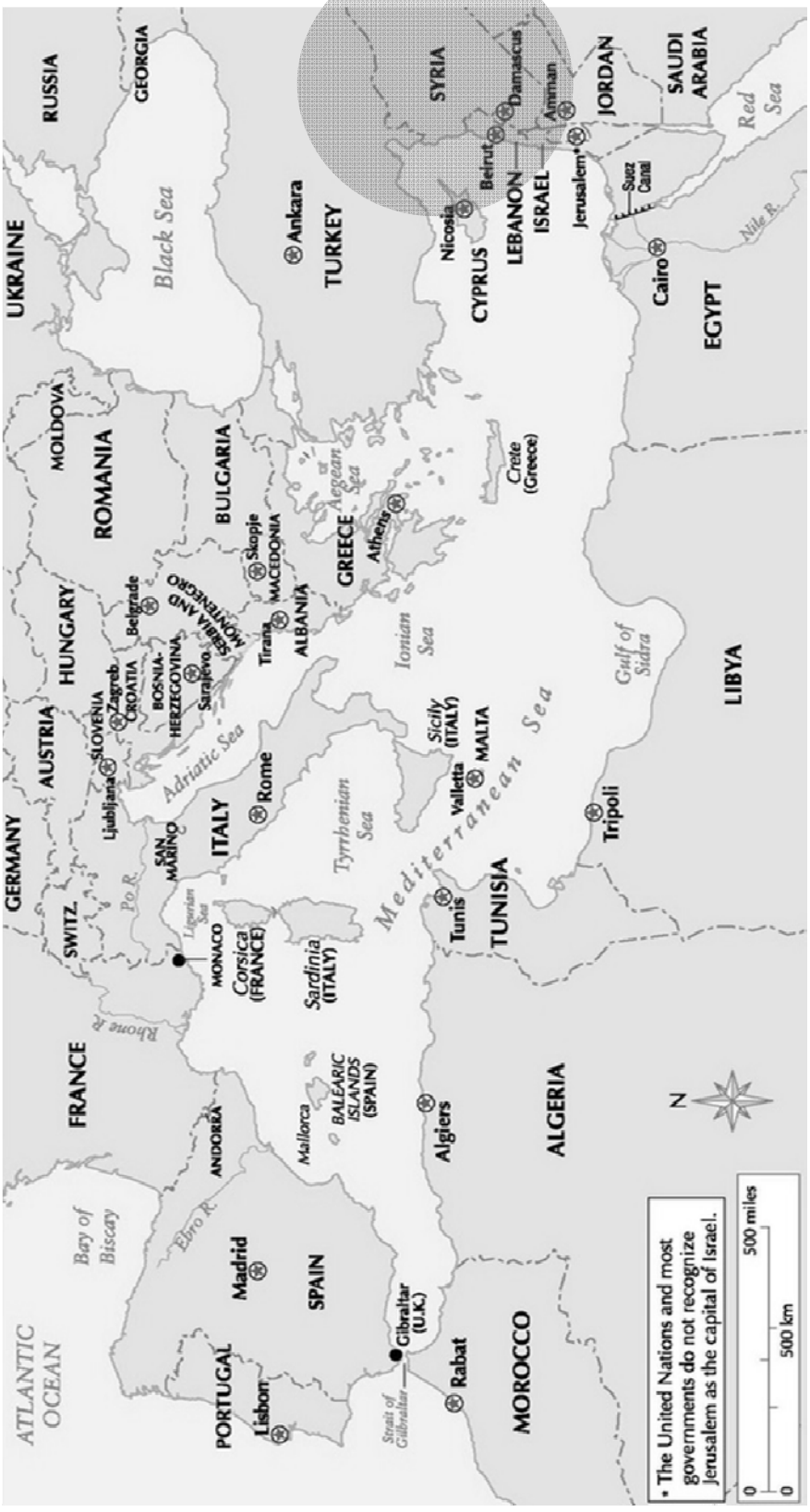


Figure 3-1: The location of Syria on the Mediterranean Basin

Source: (WG, 2010)

Figure 3-2: The location of Syria within the Middle East

Source: (UN, 2004)

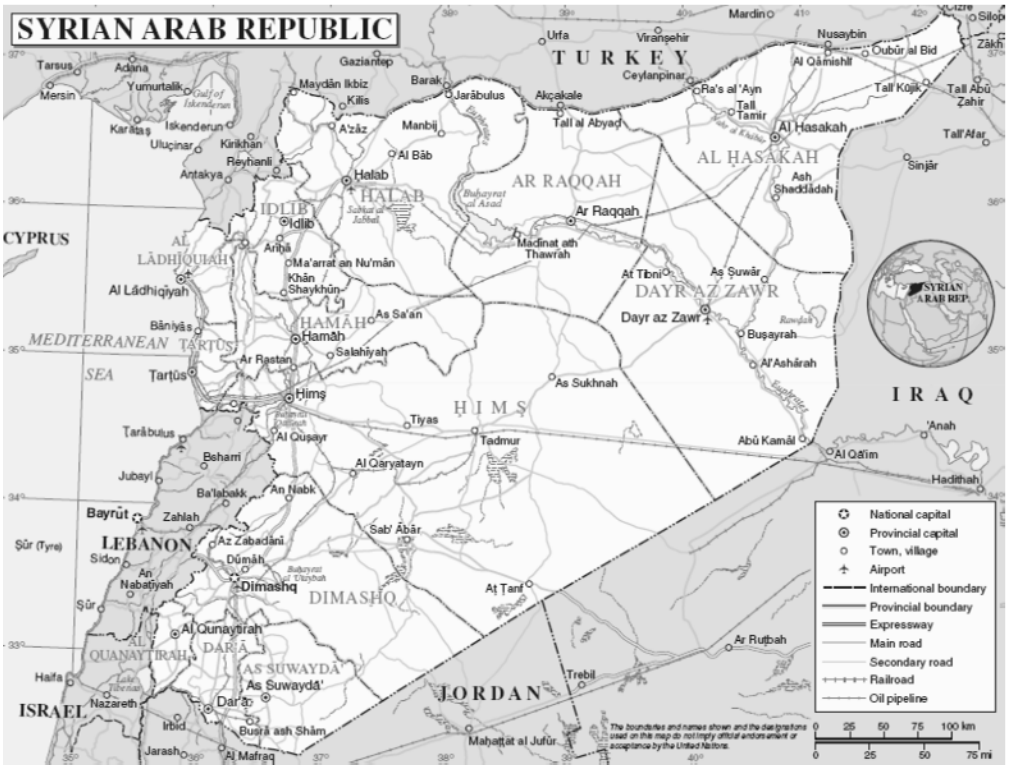


Figure 3-3: Syria with its governorates and neighbouring countries

Source: (UN, 2008)

The Syrian constitution, originally adopted in 1930 and revised and amended first in 1973 and again in 2000, describes the country as a "democratic socialist" republic and vests the Ba'ath party with leadership functions in both the state and society (OBG, 2008; U.S. Dept, 2007; Parliament, 2000). The state's leading party has "distinctly socialist tendencies" along with its "pan-Arab ideals"[20] (OBG, 2008).

The government consists of three branches, executive, legislative and judicial (CIA, 2011; SPC, 2005). The executive body is represented by the president who is considered to be the head of state and who is democratically elected every seven years (next elections are due in 2014). The Constitution gives the president executive powers to appoint all vice-presidents, the prime minister, and the council of ministers which is made-up of members of the Ba'ath and other political parties' (LoC, 2005 p. 16).

The Syrian Parliament (Majlis Al-Shaab) represents the legislative body of the Syrian government. This is a 250-member body that is directly elected by the people for a four-year term (last elections were in 2011). The parliament represents various political parties, with the majority being the National Progressive Front (NPF) which is dominated by the members of the Ba'ath Party (IFES, 2009; U.S. Dept, 2007; LoC, 2005; Parliament, 2000). The parliament is not the policy making body in the government, yet its views on economic matters form the key factor in policy making in the country.

The judicial branch is represented by the high judicial council (LoC, 2005). "The judicial system in Syria is an amalgam of Ottoman, French, and Islamic laws, with three levels of courts: courts of first instance, courts of appeals, and the constitutional court, the highest tribunal. These are in addition to religious courts which handle issues of personal and family law" (U.S. Dept, 2007).

The state's administrative division, first established in 1956 and amended in 1971 (GoD, 2006), is pyramidal in structure with a dominant one-way (top to bottom) function (see Figure 3-4) despite the fact that it was initially intended to represent a decentralised administration for the country. Accordingly, Syria is divided into 14 governorates (muhafazat, singular - muhafazah); Al Hasakah, Al Ladhiqiyah (Latakia),

[20] The Syrian leading party ideals call for the Arabs unity, freedom and socialism.

Al Qunaytirah, Ar Raqqah, As Suwayda', Dar'a, Dayr az Zawr, Dimashq (Damascus), Halab (Aleppo), Hamah, Hims, Idlib, Rif Dimashq and Tartus (CIA, 2011). A governor for each governorate is proposed by the Minister of the Interior, approved by the Council of Ministers, and announced by executive decree. The governor is assisted by an elected provincial council where 60% of the elected members are representatives of major community groups[21] in the related city or governorate (U.S.Dept, 2007; GoD, 2006). These local administrative bodies have very limited local power and they usually function according to the objectives and action plans they receive from the central government.

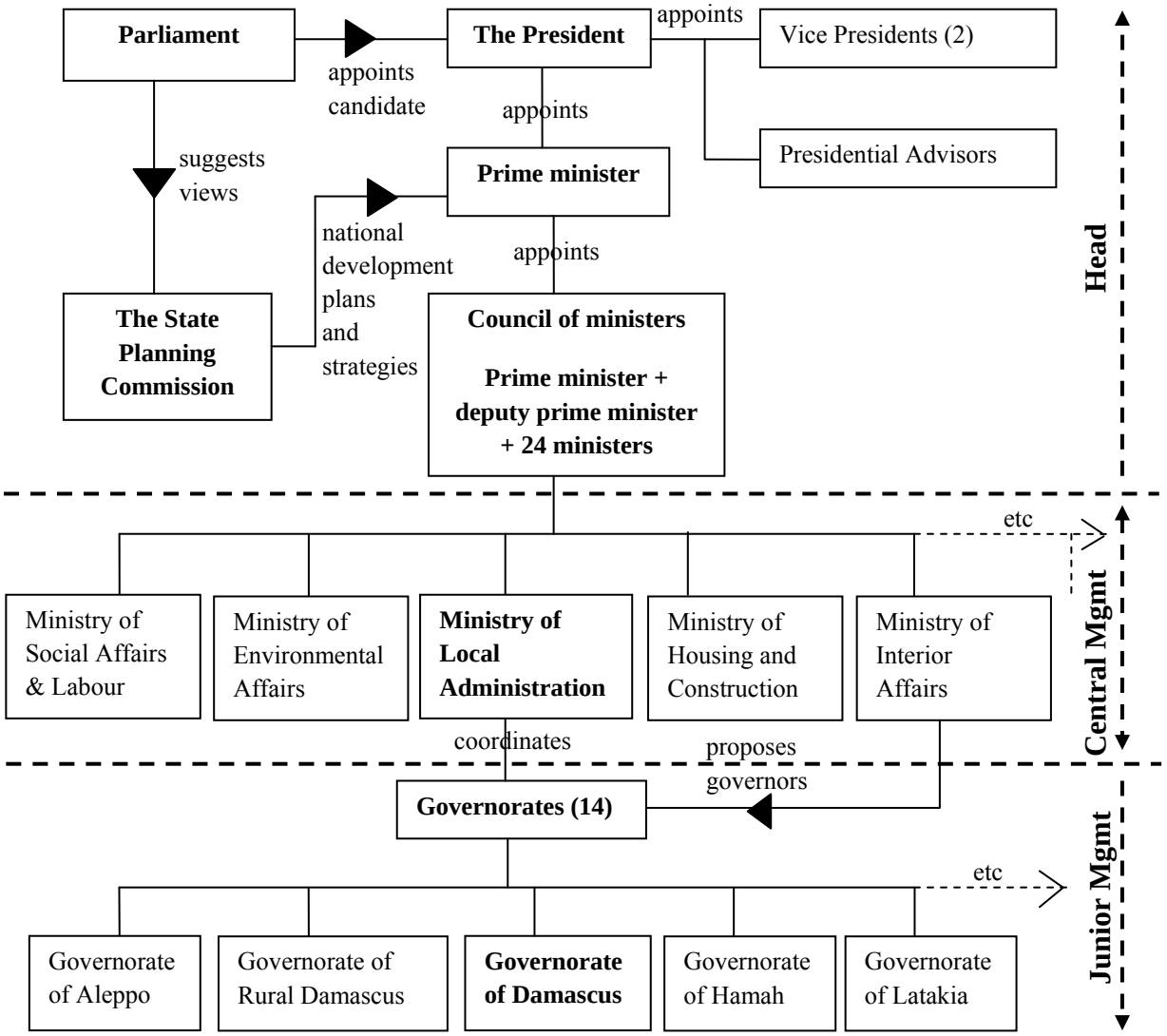


Figure 3-4: The government hierarchy, with focus on urban development decision-making related bodies

Source: The author[22]

[21] The community groups included in this are often formed according to profession (e.g. agricultural, industrial or commercial communities) or to ethnicity (e.g. communities based on religion or ethnicity). Only the formal forms of these community groups are represented in the governorate.

[22] This was allocated using grey literature.

In other words, government in Syria is seen to be firmly under central state control, and this applies to urban development process where the central government is in position of power over development decision-making on all levels, from strategic to local. This is meant to be reduced by implementing decentralisation policies emphasised in the recent FYP (2006-2010) by re-dividing areas of responsibility and resource ownership among the central and local bodies in a way that makes development decision-making more local. The United Nations (UN) presented a critique of the Syrian government structure, where it explained that the state's long history of centralism along with deep rooted issues of inefficiency and mismanagement combined with poor capacity and corruption, have led to a series of obstacles and challenges which hindered the state's attempt to implement decentralisation (UNDP, et al., 2005). The non-separation between the legislative and executive bodies (usually represented in the central government referred to as 'head' in Figure 3-4) has resulted in, first, gaps occurring between the head and the bottom of the government pyramid (see Figure 3-5), second, poor delivery of local services and, third, an out-dated bureaucratic development process (UNDP, et al., 2005).

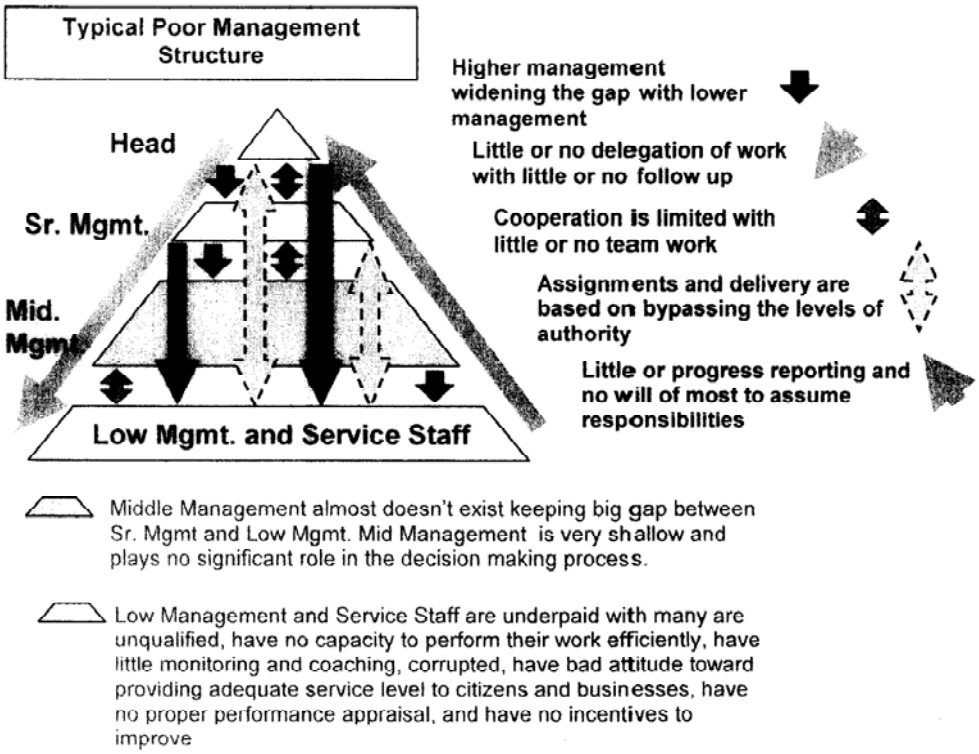


Figure 3-5: The UN baseline for critique of Syrian government structure

Source: (UNDP, et al., 2005 p. 5)

Thus, a number of development projects are currently taking place to increase the capacity and sphere of influence of local bodies over development decision-making with guidance and assistance of a number of international agencies[23] (e.g. UNDP supported by the UN and MAM project supported by the EU) in order to deliver more sustainable local services (MoLA, 2009b; SPC, 2005). In other words, there is potential to limit central government power by increasing the autonomy of local authorities. This has the potential to shift the government type further to the right shifting away from the state control (see Figure 3-6) in order to free the development process from centralism, bringing it towards the area of administrative deconcentration.

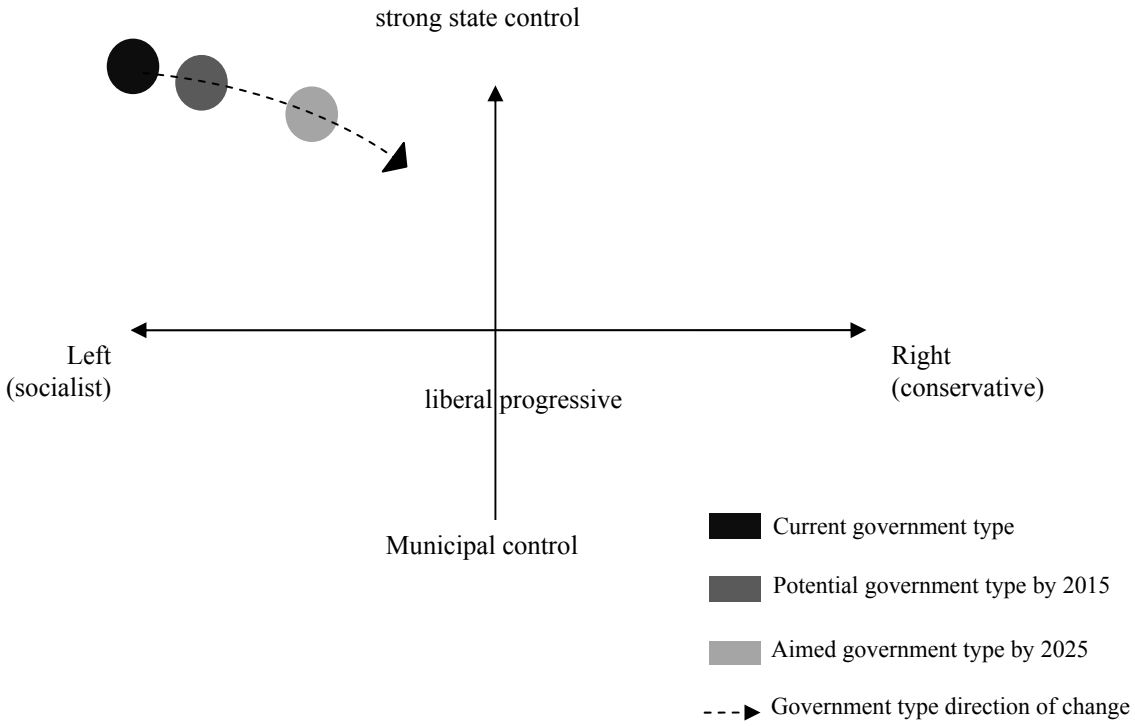


Figure 3-6: Government type diagram

Source: The author

[23] This is in the form of consultation, research and funding.

Socio-economy

According to WB development indicators, Syria ranks at the average level of lower middle income countries by most social indices (WB, 2009; 2008; 2007a). It has a growth rate of 5%[24] (2009 est.) and a total GDP of $100.8 billion[25] (2009 est.) (ranked 68th internationally) (CIA, 2011). The per capita GDP by purchasing power parity is about three times the nominal per capita GDP ($4,600 in 2009 est. JICA, 2009a) (see Appendix 3-3).

The 10th Five Year Plan (FYP 2006-10) is characterized as a transitional plan from a centralised command economy to the social market economy[26], as the former could no longer guarantee Syria's economic future within the global competitive market due to the public sector's failure to become a powerful engine of capital accumulation which could finance the state's commitments (SPC, 2005)[27]. However, this has not as yet been more than a future vision. In the field of implementation, as Raddawi (head of the SPC) argued in 2007, Syria is currently focussing on building its national income before it can plan wealth distribution and wider social services, especially given the state's lack of financial and institutional capacity to take over its planned role.

"As such, the idea of a social market economy is excellent. Having a strong and dynamic market economy coupled with social justice and redistribution[28] is the ideal solution. However, in order to redistribute wealth, you need first to have…wealth, i.e. economic surpluses. Syria is very far from reaching that stage. So I don't really think we can talk of Syria being, yet, anywhere close to a social market economy. We now

[24] This has slowed to 1.8% in 2009 as the global economic crisis affected oil prices and the economies of Syria's key export partners and sources of investment (CIA, 2011).

[25] Contribution to GDP by sector according to CIA is 18.5% agriculture; 26.3% industry and 55.2% services (2009 est. CIA, 2011).

[26] "The social market economy seeks a middle path between socialism and capitalism (i.e. a mixed economy) and aims at maintaining a balance between a high rate of economic growth, low inflation, low levels of unemployment, good working conditions, social welfare, and public services, by using state intervention" (Wikipedia, 2007).

[27] The People's Assembly has approved during its session held on the 29th of December 2010 the law for establishing the Planning and International Cooperation Commission. The law, which calls for the Commission to be directly linked to the Prime Minster, also calls for terminating Legislative Decree No. 86 of 1968 for establishing the State Planning Commission (translated from SANA, 2010b).

[28] *Social justice* is the distribution of society's benefits and burdens, and how this comes about. Social justice is the concern of various disciplines, in particular moral philosophy and political philosophy (Johnston, et al., 2000 p. 754). However, it is hard to arrive at a general definition of social justice as it relates to different factors, like political orientation, religious background, and political and social philosophy (Fraser, 1996).

need significant growth, an efficient regulatory framework for business, less intervention from the State".

Dr. Taysir Raddawi, head of the former SPC (SyriaComment, 2007)

In this, the recent FYP presented alternative scenarios for Syria's economic development. The main objective of the Syrian reform policy is to establish markets with fair competitive conditions which goods, services and factors of production are traded without state intervention depending on supply and demand criteria. This approach gives the state a complementary role instead of competing with the private sector. It is true that the government has given a 'supervised' freedom to private sector investment, yet in the 10th FYP the state emphasises the necessity of its interference in the cases of "coping with market failures or conducting activities linked to provision of public interest services, or other services which private investments fail to cover" in order to ensure "that business market players are behaving in the context of concerted social responsibilities" (SPC, 2005 pp. 3-4 in ch1).

The government, under the circumstances of its lack of adequate productivity to cope with market demand, will restrict more and more of its activities in order to create framework conditions and a favourable business climate (Al-Dardari, 2008)[29]. This is with focus on making the industrial sector the main driving force for economic development, declining the contribution of the oil and gas sector and providing opportunities for the services sector[30] (banking, insurance, trade ...etc) to achieve its highest potential growth (JICA, 2009a).

The private sector[31] contributed to rapid growth in the national formation of capital from 11.8% in 2005 to 54% in 2007 (WB, 2007b; Al-Dardari, 2008). This was facilitated by the new investment legislative decree no.8 (2008), which amended investment law no.10 (1991) and strengthened the rights of domestic and foreign

[29] Abdullah Al-Dardari is the deputy prime minister for economic affairs, government of Syria.

[30] This is due to the high demand for the services market due to the state's lack of adequate productivity to cope with this. These sectors are open to the transnational private sector under the new economic reforms and investment legislative decree no. 8 (2008) and investment law no. 10 (1991) (SPC, 2005; Lexadin, 2010).

[31] Like in most developing countries, the private sector in Syria is mainly made up of micro and small enterprises (MSEs), formal and informal registered businesses, and small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Many MSEs are highly transient and operate informally outside the official regulations of investment. They are often limited to farm or trade-based activities which provide income to poor households (DFID, 2005 p. 9).

investors[32]. Syria also joined the International Centre for Settlement Disputes and the Multilateral Guarantee Agency (MIGA) to further improve the investment climate (Al-Dardari, 2008). However, foreign direct investments are still low, presumably reflecting the perception that Syria is a high risk country (JICA, 2009a).

In this re-structuring, Syria is attempting to promote continued deregulation and reform to encourage private investment with the intention of making the main direction of economic development towards a non-oil economy[33], modernisation of agriculture[34] and utilisation of domestic and international tourism for self-reliant economic development[35], while ensuring social stability with social safety nets. This sets the Syrian Government policy to pursue the market economy carefully while ensuring that social value and stability would not be undermined (JICA, 2009a).

However, the move towards an open market economy is still on a policy level with very limited implementation. This is due to the fact that Syria still lacks the proper tools[36] to manage an open market economy. Therefore, the state is still in control of the national economy. This is mainly via public-private partnerships which the state uses as a mechanism to reserve the ownership of the economy on one hand and to evaluate the focus of chosen projects on the other[37]. As such a development project should contribute to improving human development indicators set by the UNDP (for example it should provide employment, education or social returns) to ensure that the chosen investments are in accordance with social needs. This keeps the national economy essentially in the hands of the central state. The state is thus attempting to stay in control of the management of infrastructure resources (which has proven to affect private

[32] In this, foreign investors, multinational and transnational corporations have become active in all sectors of the Syrian national economy. They have the same rights and duties as the domestic investors. Besides, their profits can be transferred abroad freely. Furthermore, the tax burden of the private sector was lowered considerably. The profit tax is progressive ranging from 10% to 28%. In 2003, the top marginal tax rate was 65%. Interest on income is taxed at a fixed rate of 7.5%. Syria ranks worldwide among the countries with the lowest tax rates. However, the introduction of VAT is envisaged for 2009 in order to make up for the rising budget deficit (Al-Dardari, 2008).

[33] "This dictates the main direction of the economic development on the recognition that oil and gas sector would decline" (JICA, 2009a p. 2).

[34] This puts agriculture being the main stay of the Syrian socio-economy into a new perspective (JICA, 2009a p. 2).

[35] "This clarifies the tourism development as an emerging opportunity for economic development as Syria gradually opens up its socio-economy to the rest of the world" (JICA, 2009a p. 2).

[36] The main ones are government expenditure, tax system, VAT and M change (monetary change and money supply).

[37] The choice of projects is based on its contribution to human development. However, in most cases, issues of financial return and profit are priorities in development choice.

investments) while sharing other resources, through imposing a set of what can be called social constraints[38].

Some growth is gradually being achieved[39] but only in areas of services, leaving other major economic sectors in a gradual decline (see Table A3-7 in Appendix 3-3). Besides, the increased prices of products[40] coupled with the lack of public productivity during the last few years has caused a decline in the value of the national currency and decreasing purchasing power of average individual incomes. This has caused social discrimination and what could be described as a social shock and a dramatic decline in the living standard for the majority of social classes[41] (SyriaNews, 2009a). Therefore, it is acceptable to say that growth is an absolute necessity but has not been enough to overcome the state's financial deficiency and promote a just distribution of wealth[42]. It is this fact which makes economic reform process complicated, where political decision-makers should carefully consider the social implications or any reform measures.

Under this decline in status of different social classes, yet increasing demand for goods and services that can maintain the existence of these classes, informal economic activities in Syria are increasing in scale and currently absorb 45% of the Syrian market labour force. These face an unclear future as Syria makes its way towards the implementation of international trade agreements that bear labour laws which are not in favour of the informal sector. Besides, "the informal sector deprives the government of

[38] According to Balassa (1990), this is one of the characteristics that describes the economies in most of the countries of the South where the state stays in control of the economy through resources ownership and economic reforms.

[39] "The growth rates of the gross national product (GNP) rose from 4.5% in 2005 to 5.1% (2006) and 6.6% in 2007. Without the decreasing oil production, the growth rate of the GNP amounted even to 9% in 2007" (Al-Dardari, 2008).

[40] "The price increases was 14% during the period 2005 up to the 3rd quarter of 2007, too. Living costs have risen more strongly than before ever since the 4th quarter of 2007" (Al-Dardari, 2008).

[41] "The number of people living in poverty (persons with less than $2 per day) is approximately 11%. In 1997, the share of poor people was 17.35%. Yet approximately 30% of the population lives quite close to the poverty line. Even minor changes (prices increases for staple food, fuel or water or a reduction in the income or employment volume) may disturb the social situation. It is this fact which makes the Syrian reform process so complicated and which requires political decision makers to account for the social implication of all reform measures" (Al-Dardari, 2008).

[42] The state is aware of the necessity to include all social classes under what Al-Dardari called 'a social umbrella' which concerns social justice and income distribution in order to minimise the contradiction between the liberal market economy policies adopted by the state and social wellbeing (SyriaNews, 2009a). However, the lack of comprehensive vision of planning; poor regional and special planning; and issues of limited institutional capacity and corruption make the state unable to promote a just distribution of wealth among institutions; cities; neighbourhoods; and community groups.

tax revenues that are crucial to financing minimum health and social security benefits for the labour force serving within it. More importantly, members of the informal sector are also deprived of the benefits that are currently enjoyed by the members of the formal sector such as access to subsidies, small business financing, and insurances" (UNDP, 2010, URL). Thus, a collaboration project between the DPM, SPC and UNDP has been aimed at helping to formalize the informal sector by applying continuous monitoring mechanisms to the size of the sector and the main reasons for its occurrence and the challenges it faces and how this affects the national economy. Besides, the project looks at the possibilities for developing a legal framework that can encourage those who carry out informal activities to engage into the formal stream of production and services in the country (UNDP, 2010).

Syria has a labour market of 5.382 million (2009 est.) and a formal unemployment rate of 8.5% (2009 est. CIA, 2011)[43]. The rate of new entrants into the labour force rose to 98.1% in 2005. However, these entrants are of different education and training levels and suffer from lack of effective labour market planning and the incompatibility of training and education programmes with practice. This caused an imbalance between supply and demand in the labour force and a troubled employment structure (Al-Thawra, 2005). Furthermore, and according to the WB Human Development Director for South Asia Region Michal Rutkowski (2005), the demographic active rates; the new public sector's employment requirements[44]; and the state's recent withdrawal of any commitment towards new graduates in terms of providing them with employment have caused the unemployment rate to rise dramatically (Al-Thawra, 2005).

However, there are some attempts from the state to launch some form of social welfare aid mechanisms. Related to this, a social survey was launched by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, starting from December 2008 till April 2009, to address the situation of families and individuals living in poverty (11.9% of the population live under the poverty line according to 2006 est. CIA, 2011). This, according to the

[43] This is dropping from 16.2% in 2005 according to the minister of Labour (Al-Thawra, 2005). This is due to the economic growth Syria has experienced during the last five years which increased the demand for employment, especially in the services sectors (Hasan, 2007). See Figure A3-27 and Figure A3-28 in Appendix 3-10.

[44] The state is the leading employer in the country. However, it requires high levels of qualifications; training; and language and technological knowledge.

Minister of Social Affairs and Labour (SyriaNews, 2009b), is not related to the ministry's intentions to launch a financial aid programme for these families but to build a reliable database when deciding on areas for social development programmes. Furthermore, the minister declared that the intended financial aid is to be delivered through providing job opportunities, capacity building projects and social services programmes rather than being in the form of regular payments to these families. This is a step towards realising more balanced development of the national territory which the state is trying to achieve via planned regional development for poverty alleviation (JICA, 2009a). This form of proactive economic governance is seen by the state to be helpful for concentrating on strengthening the capacity of the public sector without causing a dramatic decline in human development indicators. In this, the new 11th FYP (2011-2015) is following the same key steps addressed in the 10th FYP in relation to increasing investments and, at the same time, improving living standards through establishing the basis for a competitive economy as the foundation of the development process.(SANA, 2010a; 2010b).

Civil society

The population of Syria is both ethnically and religiously diverse[45]. In addition, different languages are spoken among people[46] apart from the dominant Arabic which is spoken in various dialects around the country's regions. The immigrants from neighbouring countries (Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq[47]) brought even more diversity into the Syrian society and, even though they do not have Syrian nationality or the right to vote in elections or be represented, they do enjoy similar rights in education, healthcare, ownership and economic activities[48]. Refugees from neighbouring countries in addition to internal immigration to major cities (especially Damascus) caused the population to

[45] Arabs 90.3%, Kurds, Armenians, and other 9.7% (about 9 percent are Kurds. Armenians, Circassians, and Turkomans make up the remaining 1% of the population) (CIA, 2011; LoC, 2005). Major religions in Syria are Sunni Islam (74%of total population), other Islamic denominations(including Alawite, Druze 16% of population), Christianity (various denominations 10%), Judaism (tiny communities in Damascus, Al Qamishli, and Aleppo) Yazidis (a small religious group whose religion contains elements of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity) (CIA, 2011; LoC, 2005).

[46] Arabic is the official language and mother tongue of about 90% of the population. Minority languages include Kurdish, Armenian, Aramaic, and Circassian. Both English and French are widely understood, especially by educated elites in major urban areas (LoC, 2005).

[47] These are Palestinian war refugees in 1948, Lebanese civil war refugees in 1975-1991 and Iraqi war refugees in 2003.

[48] The researcher has been informed of this during the informal and semi-structured interviews held with different members of society actors during the first and second field trips to Damascus in March 2009 and March-April 2010.

experience an increasing urbanisation rate[49]. This is partly due to imbalanced regional development and concentrating major activities (higher education, employment, specialised health care) in the country's major cities.

The Syrian Constitution in its 4th Chapter (Freedoms, Rights and General Duties) under Article 39 gives Syrian citizens the right to group and peacefully demonstrate within the limitations of law. In addition, Article 48 in the same chapter grants the public the right to establish unions, social or professional organizations, and production or services cooperatives that operate according to the law. The right of operation of these organisations is given in all society sectors and councils but regulated to enhance the Arab socialist society and protect its system; plan and guide the socialist economy; enhance public security, health, culture and all issues related to citizens' welfare; build educational and technical capacity and improve means of production and provide the mechanisms to monitor state bodies[50] (Parliament, 2000). Under this, Syrian civil society consists of organisations which are formed in many ways; by sector, focus, origins, scale, level of formality, values, or theoretical perspectives (WB, 2000), such as NGOs, teams of academics, professional organisations, and organised and non-organised residents. These form both the formal and informal structures of Syrian civil society.

The formal structure of civil society consists of Political Parties (28), Unions and Professional Associations (20), Job Creators Groups: Chambers of Commerce and Industry (6) and Social Organisations (21) (ArabDecision, 2011)[51]. This is in addition to a number of charities[52] which have been granted a constitutional right to work since 1959 and were usually formed on a cultural basis (ethnicity, religion, etc). "In the Syrian context, the term civil society is used to refer to charities and associations working in the fields of social, economic and environmental development, most of

[49] The Syrian urban population forms 54% of the total population (2008) with an urbanization rate of 3.1% annually (2005-10 est.) (CIA, 2011).
[50] Although several amendments have been introduced to the constitution in 1980, 1991 and 2000, these articles related to civil society organisations and their function regulations have been set since 1973 when the constitution was first approved.
[51] This source is grey literature but was essential in this thesis as no access to a full documentation of civil society organisations has been possible during the research period.
[52] "Syrian legislation dating back to 1959 allows charities to work in the country, and was amended in 1974 to give them tax exemption" (Haddad, 2009 p. 246) drawing from (OBG, 2005). At present, according to the 10th FYP adapted by the Syrian government, there are roughly 626 charity organisations registered and working in the country (UNDP, 2007).

which have ties to the government" (Harding, 2011, URL). These are only permitted to function if they are legally approved and formally registered[53] with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour (MoSAL) (UNDP, 2007). However, CSOs in Syria differ widely in the degree of their representation, technical expertise, capacity building, service delivery and social functions[54] (WB, 2000). This is very much related to the size, institutional capacity (action plan and organisational structure) and level of recognition the organisation enjoys by law with other society spheres (the state and the private sector).

It is relevant to note that since 2001, the number of associations in Syria has dramatically risen over the past few years from 540 in 2001 to 1,500 today according to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour (MoSAL), especially with the support of UNDP and its effect on the 10th FYP (2006-2010) in emphasising empowering civil society. Consequently, several social organisations have been reclassified as NGOs and most importantly, several new development-based organisations have been established[55]. Nonetheless, the country has a small number of functioning NGOs in comparison to neighbouring nations[56] and these are relatively marginalized when compared to governmental and for-profit sectors (UNDP, 2007).

NGOs in Syria face two types of challenges, 'internal' ones related to, first, their inability to function effectively due to an absence of institutions or organisations able to offer useful and practical support and, second, their shortcomings in terms of their organisational management/structure and operative capacities. The 'external' challenges to Syrian NGOs are various, but the most significant one is the legal environment in which they function. NGOs in Syria legally operate under the stipulations contained in the 'Associations and Private Societies Law no.93 of 1958', and this centralises all NGOs activities through the MoSAL. In other words, all NGOs must register with MoSAL and operate under its supervision. Besides, dealing with international organisations (e.g. receiving funding, cooperating with international actors...etc) requires obtaining authorisation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) and this

[53] This is usually applicable to the mother organisation. The branches not necessarily registered (interviews).
[54] Examples of CSOs classification according to the functions they provide are given in Appendix 3-4.
[55] These were established after the year 2000 (UNDP, 2007) (e.g. The Syria Trust for Development (STFD) which was established in 2007 and is considered one of the most functional NGOs at the national level and has a direct cooperation with the UNDP).
[56] Around 1,500 compared with 5,000 in Lebanon (BBC, 2010).

has been proven to be a challenge to active involvement of international actors with NGOs (UNDP, 2007).

Thus, NGOs in Syria, despite being independent from the government to a certain level, have limited organisational or functional autonomy (UNDP, 2007). This, however, is changing due to the recognition at the national policy level of the importance of the role the NGOs can play in the development process (SPC, 2005; Harding, 2011). This issue was further highlighted by the first international development conference, titled 'The Emerging Role of Civil Society in Development' on 23rd of January 2010 when it was announced that the government was preparing a new law on non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Harding, 2011). Yet, achieving the full potential of this requires time[57]. Meanwhile, NGOs are still an "untapped resource for international cooperation and as a government partner in development planning and dialogue" (UNDP, 2007 p. 5).

A considerable part of Syrian civil society is informal[58]. This mainly consists of socio-cultural practices formed using social relations of kinship and community-based characteristics of location, origin or culture. This form of social institutions, according to Jenkins and Wilkinson (2002), is well known in the countries of the South, and in the case of Syria they form a crucial counterpoint to the formal order of service delivery to those whose needs are not adequately served.

Despite the fact that Syrian civil society informal institutions have not been formally acknowledged, these have strong relationships with formal institutions. This relationship usually draws on accepted authoritarianism (e.g. head of clan[59], local mayor[60] and neighbourhood committee) or negotiated patronage (e.g. officials in the public authorities or members in the private sector), rather than elected representation as is the case in the formal civil society entities (drawing from Jenkins & Wilkinson, 2002). This relationship grants the informal sector of civil society access to services.

[57] Work on this started as cooperation between UNDP and STFD to create civil society platform project (UNDP, 2007; UNDP, 2009a).
[58] This was reached using grey literature (professionals' memos and Syrian media) and data from the informal interviews.
[59] Called Shaikh in Arabic.
[60] Called Mukhtar in Arabic.

The growing effect of the global economy on Syria, as reflected in the rapid change in the economic policies in the country, has increased polarisation within the local population[61]. This is accompanied by increased demand for social services; limited urban resources; and formal institutions' lack of functional and financial capacity under the circumstances of rapid urbanisation[62], as the estimates of the population in Damascus and Aleppo and their rural areas vary from 44% (SPC, 2010) to 45% (Fernandes, 2008) of the total population of Syria. These factors altogether have caused the informal structure of civil society to grow in size and significance[63] in all areas of Syrian society's activities, to the extent that informal access to social services – including access to urban land - is no longer the exception, but has become the rule (Fernandes, 2008). However, there are no precise or clear records to substantiate the size, structure and areas of action (location and specialisation) of informal institutions within Syrian civil society at the moment.

3.3 Issues of urban development governance in Syria and the role of the UNDP

The current governance in the Arab world can be described as "marked by the existence of a powerful executive branch" which enjoys "extensive constitutional and extra-constitutional authority, thereby exerting significant control over other branches of government". This causes institutional balances to weaken (see Table A3-9 in Appendix 3-5) in addition to minimising popular participation in the public sphere (UNDP, 2005b).

[61] This emerges from income inequality, real-estate fluctuations, economic displacements etc. which result in differentiation of various social groups, from high-income to low-income (Wikipedia, 2010).

[62] The reason for this is the external and internal immigration to the major cities combined with annual growth rates which were as high as 5%; the current rate of 3% is lower, but still considerably high. About 55% of the total population lives in urban areas, and this number is expected to rise to 75% by 2050. It is important to note that the reasons for rapid urbanisation are not the same for informal developments, as the latter are more related to development institutions (formal and informal) in terms of mental models and organisational structure.

[63] This result has been reached using data derived from the interviews and reflecting on Jenkins and Wilkinson (2002).

However, more Arab countries than ever are working to build democratic governance[64] where democracy is considered as a standard against which processes and institutions are measured towards building good governance[65]. This approach sets these countries the challenge of developing institutions and processes that are "more responsive to the needs of ordinary people including the poor" (UNDP, 2011a, URL). This is supported by the UNDP which tries to build partnerships with those countries to promote participation, accountability and effectiveness at all levels as a criterion for delivering sustainable human development (SHD). The SHD model seeks to "expand the choices of all people in society, including women, the poor, and future generations, emphasizing greater integration among economic, political and social spheres, and participation by local, national, regional, and global actors. This model relies on good governance practices, recognizing that such practices cannot be imposed from the outside or accomplished quickly" (UNDP, 2005a, URL).

As far as UNDP's networks are concerned, the programme focuses on three separate, but strongly interrelated, processes. First, UNDP builds networks towards becoming a learning organisation. This is to provide capacity building projects and programmes in partnership with governments to promote democratic governance. Second, UNDP supports poverty eradication initiatives at the global, regional and national levels, especially in view of the follow-up to the Copenhagen Social Summit in 1995. Third, UNDP' supports urban poverty alleviation initiatives (UNDP, 1997). This thesis is concerned with the application of first process in Syria.

Related to this, the UNDP has developed a number of projects that are thought to be applicable within the Syrian context to promote democratic governance, which is considered to contribute to sustainable development. The Syrian central government has responded to the UNDP and started to work in partnership with it in 1999 to gradually apply change to the process of governance currently taking place in the country. For this, UNDP has been providing related knowledge and training to a variety of societal organisations, especially public authorities at the national level and major CSOs (for

[64] Democratic governance is a form of governance in which rule is by and for the people (Johnston, et al., 2000 p. 158).

[65] Good governance encompasses the state, civil society, and the private sector, and is concerned with the long-term, multi-generational impacts of development. Its dimensions are the rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, participation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, and strategic vision (UNDP, 2005a).

example, the Women's Union and the Youth Union organisations). This is via a number of workshops and training programmes, where presentations and pilot projects were undertaken to introduce concepts of 'governance', 'participation', ' decentralisation' and 'empowerment' and how these were addressed in international development policies to potentially promote sustainable development. In addition, the training programmes focussed on issues of civil society empowerment needs in order to improve the organisational capacity and representation of CSOs towards increasing their participation in development policy making to become more reflective of the needs of different segments of society. This is seen by UNDP to be a key principle of democratic governance.

However, the collected research data showed that these capacity building projects were kept at the national level and did not go beyond the education stage of providing guidelines of policy change and development organisations' needs, and this was addressed in the national FYP (2006-2010). In addition, UNDP participative approach to development was limited to focusing on issues of empowerment, overlooking the fact that being empowered does not necessarily lead to participation (this is further discussed in Chapter eight). A detailed approach to the application of this in policy to facilitate civil society participation at a more local level has not been undertaken yet, and this is a key argument of this research.

Democratic governance is seen by the Syrian central government as a very important requirement to achieve in order to promote the interests of international development partners (e.g. EU) so Syria would be able to integrate into the international economy and benefit from its opportunities in order to achieve more growth (see Figure 3-7).

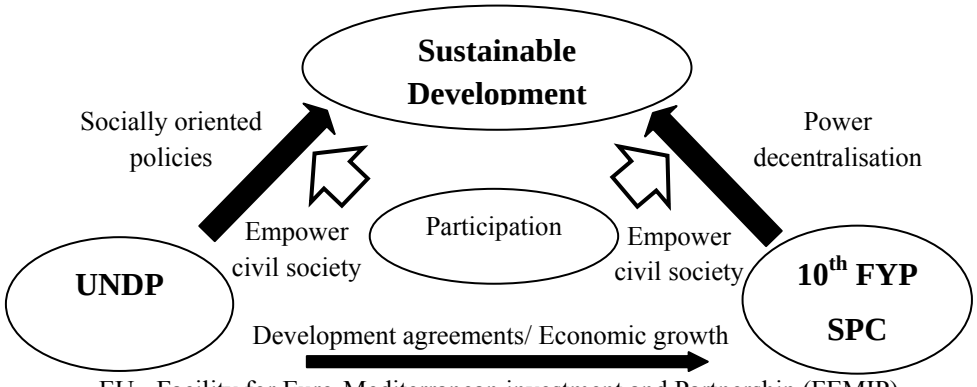


Figure 3-7: The effect of UNDP mental models on the development plans in Syria

Source: The author

Thus, Syrian five-year development plans have adopted a different course for the way development is planned and implemented called 'indicative planning[66]. In this, the Syrian government is trying to incorporate decentralisation into its policy dialogue and resource management, but with a conservative attitude as it tries to still indicate/guide the development of the national economy. This is due to the fact that Syria is a country of limited resources and national level planning is important. However, it is important to note that despite the will of the central government to adopt decentralisation in its development governance expressed in the 10th FYP, it has been argued that only improving the current institutional structure is not sufficient (UNDP, 2011a). Therefore, a political and socio-economic change has been gradually taking place where new economic reforms have been adopted to reshape the state/market relationship and power decentralisation has been carefully approached based on the criteria of modernisation of local authorities on the one hand and empowering civil society on the other in order to achieve a better state/civil society relationship which is seen to better fulfil local needs.

The economic reforms and their contribution to the national economy have been referred to earlier as 'socio-economy'. This research is concerned with how these are reflected in state/market relationships. In this, the state control over the market is decreasing to gradually become only related to regulation. However, the state still keeps the management of infrastructure within its domain (Balassa, 1990). In addition, it tries to impose some social constraints on private investment to direct the priority of projects. This, however, has been declining over the past few years as the central government became aware of the need to achieve growth in order to fund its social commitments and compete in the global market. Therefore, it is gradually giving more freedom to the market, more power to the private sector and more local judgement over investment choice (SyriaComment, 2007; Al-Dardari, 2008; research interviewees).

More importantly for the focus of this research is the reform of the state/civil society relationship currently affected by the modernisation of institutional development, starting by imposing new mental models of decentralisation of power and its resulting

[66] Indicative planning is, according to Black (2002; 1968), the attempt to promote more stable, rapid, and efficient growth via the exchange of forecasts leading to a generally held set of considerations. It aims to promote economic growth by influencing expectations. It attempts to combine the advantages of decentralization and central planning.

concept of empowering civil society. Power decentralisation and strengthening local authorities has been assisted by the MAM programme which is held in cooperation with the EU and aims to create more independent/strategy-oriented and citizen-oriented municipalities translated into a new local administration law benefiting from the Turkish model and EU best practice (MAM, 2011a; 2011b). However, the process has been altogether less straightforward and local government still seems to be widely expected to implement planning which is still largely defined at national level (Fernandes, 2008).

The state/civil society relationship is often seen as "a zero sum game" as Arab governments see civil society organizations "not as partners but as competitors in the delivery of services, channels of resources from international donors, or as watchdogs and challengers of state policies and actions" (UNDP, 2005b). Consequently, the available space for public participation in political, economic and social development is very limited. Thus, enhancement is required to increase public input in different aspects of society, beyond the limits of health, knowledge and income into essential areas of choice ranging from political, economic and social opportunities for being creative and productive to enjoying self respect, empowerment and a sense of belonging to a community (UNDP, 1999).

Therefore, Syria in its new development approach has emphasised the empowerment of civil society, which is a concept emphasised in the 10th FYP and which was introduced to the public for the first time through The First International Development Conference of Syria in 2010. This was organised by the Syrian Trust for Development (STFD) and focussed on the emerging role of civil society in development (STFD, 2010). In this, the state has started to consider civil society as a partner because of the associated benefits of conflict reduction among society forces on one hand and gaining international agencies' approval as a partner in international economic agreements on the other. Besides, the state started to view civil society as forming an integral tool in the development of the country that can be used to benefit the national agenda, rather than being in opposition to the state's development strategies. Thus, a new agreement between STFD and UNDP in 2007 was signed to establish a national platform for Syrian NGOs as independent legal entities (UNDP, 2007; UNDP, 2009a). The platform is designed as "a forum to enhance the development of civil society in Syria through

capacity development for NGO's as well as provide them the collective space to enhance civil society contribution to and participation in the development process in the country" (UNDP, 2007).

This project, however, has targeted only the formally registered NGOs in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, and these are usually of sectoral or professional origins. The project did not consider any forms of informal civil society as these are not acknowledged and are seen by the project coordinators as being hard to recognise and to target by any programmes (as related in research interviews).

The progress of UNDP in Syria over the period from 1999 to 2004 was assessed. The assessment results showed that UNDP in Syria has made "significant contributions to the creation of the first national plan for environment; to the promotion of a stronger poverty focus, with particular attention to capability poverty; and to a greater emphasis on democratic governance and administrative reform" (UNDP, 2005d). However, the assessment addressed a number of challenges that caused a difficulty for UNDP to achieve its potential. These were mainly related to development policy making bureaucracy; development organisational structure complexity; and rapid changes within civil society. Therefore, the programme evaluation suggested a need for "redefining UNDP's role in Syria and supporting new partnerships between the public sector and the institutions of civil society, to promote more accountable delivery of public services and ensuring the protection of the poor" (UNDP, 2005d). No assessment of the programme was carried out to cover the period after 2004 in Syria. This is due to the unrest taking place in the country since March 2011, which brought all development programmes in the country to a halt.

However, it is of relevance to note that empowerment of civil society according to UNDP guidelines is taking gradual and careful steps despite the state's awareness of its importance as a partner in the development process, as the state is aware of the nature of the NGOs and their international linkages with international organisations (refer to Figure 2-4 in Chapter 2). Arguably, developing these linkages may cause a threat to the state's power by creating direct channels with society on the basis of minority interests (ethnic, religious...etc) which, in the state's perspective, may not serve national development as a whole, and this may endanger the stability of the diverse society in

Syria. Therefore, gradual and careful steps when introducing change may be wise at this point in order to secure social stability.

In summary, development in Syria (since 2000) is mainly led by the economic situation of the country. However, the country is currently experiencing a modernisation phase which is introducing gradual political and institutional changes that have been widely influenced by the UNDP with the objective of achieving 'good governance'. These changes have been translated into legal reforms aimed at introducing aspects of the open market economy and empowering the private sector. This is to decrease the level of planning centralisation, transforming the state into a partner in the development process. In this, decentralisation policies are gradually adopted in order to give a wider sphere of power to the local authorities in relation to development decision-making and resources management on the one hand and empowering civil society and having it on board as a partner in the development process on the other. This has the potential to restore the balance of the society spheres and enhance the relationships between them (see Figure 3-8).

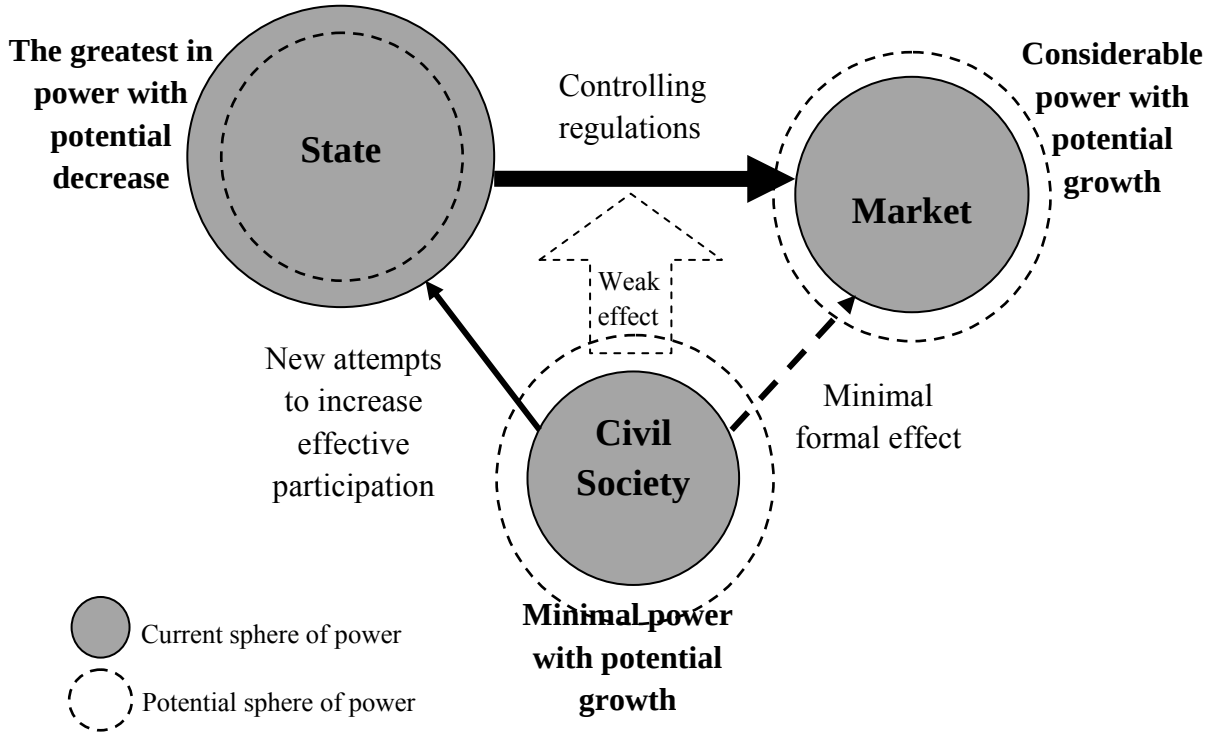


Figure 3-8: Syrian society actors and their relationships

Source: The author[67]

[67] Allocated using data derived from the UNDP publications, Syrian government literature and the interviewees.

It is important to note that the recent unrest Syria has been experiencing is accompanied by administrative reforms to the governance context in the country. This will potentially change the balance of power from these explained in this chapter. This is considered to be a challenge to this research, and this is addressed in research limitations in both chapters four and eight. Nonetheless, the analysis introduced here is valid at the time of doing this research and is still a valuable contribution to the understanding of the urban development governance context in Syria.

3.4 Damascus urban development institutional context

3.4.1 Damascus facts, figures and urban status

Figure 3-9: Key geographic features of Damascus
Source: Google Earth, 2011

Damascus (Dimashq) is the capital of Syria and is located in the south west of the country (see Figure 3-3). Damascus is defined by its key geographic features, Qassyoon Mountain to the north west; Barada River running from the north west to the east through the city and Al-Ghouta (the green areas) around the city and its adjacent rural districts (see Figure 3-9 and Figure 3-10). The city has moderate climatic conditions during autumn and spring and relatively hot summers and cold winters (average of 45^{o}C

in summer and 7°C in winter) with an average annual rainfall of 230 mm and low humidity levels due to the desert on the east of the city (JICA, 1999). Damascus is believed to be among the world's oldest continuously inhabited cities, it has evidence of occupation from the 4th millennium BC[68]. Therefore, it has been called the "pearl of the East," praised for its beauty and lushness (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2011).

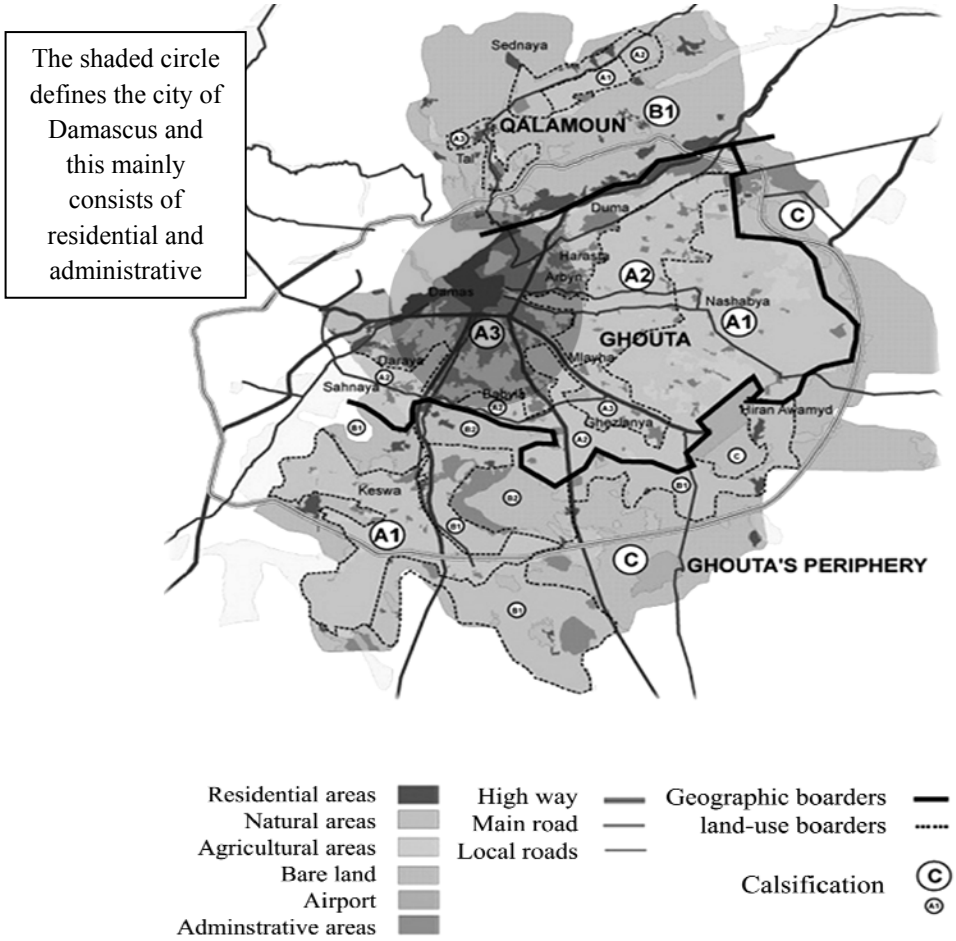


Figure 3-10: Damascus key land-use and main transportation network

Source: (MoSEA, 2011)

[68] "The first written reference to it is found in Egyptian tablets of the 15th century BC; biblical sources refer to it as the capital of the Aramaeans, and some Arabic sources have linked it with the *Iram dhāt al-imad*, mentioned in the Quran. The city changed hands repeatedly over the centuries, belonging to Assyria in the 8th century BC, then Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome. It remained under the control of Rome and its successor state, the Byzantine Empire, until it fell to the Arabs in AD 635. Damascus flourished as the capital of the Umayyad dynasty, and the remains of their Great Mosque still stand. Taken by the Ottoman Empire in 1516, it remained under Ottoman rule until 1918; it was occupied by France in 1920 and became part of independent Syria in 1946. Today the city is a flourishing metropolis with many educational and scientific institutions. The old city centre was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1979" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2011).

Civil records show that Damascus has a population of 1.572 million[69] (2007 est. See Table A3-5 in Appendix 3-2) and this accounts for 8.7% of the total population of Syria (see Table A3-4 in Appendix 3-2). The total land area of the city is more or less 10,500ha, which makes the average population density 147 inhabitants/ha. This figure, however, is rather misleading. This is because the total area figure includes Qasyoon Mountain, which is not populated. Therefore, when excluding its area from the total number, the populated city area is approximately 7,700ha, as estimated by both GCEC and the JICA Study. This makes the average effective density 200 inhabitants/ha, which is considered to be very high as the gross average of sizeable urban area. However, the population density in some informal areas is as high as 800 inhabitants/ha which is much higher than the average gross figure. This leaves other areas with less density than the gross average (JICA, 2009b). The city has different land-uses and these are mainly residential, agricultural, public space (roads, squares, gardens and parks), public services (education, health care, etc) and administrative uses, in addition to undeveloped areas (refer to Figure 3-10 and Table A3-10 in Appendix 3-7).

Figure 3-11: A view of current Damascus City Centre from Qassyoon Mountain

Source: (Webshots, 2011)

[69] This is the area of central Damascus which is under Damascus Governorate administration and does not include the areas under the Rural Damascus Governorate administration which are directly adjacent to central Damascus (refer to Figure A3-25 in Appendix 3-8). However, the total population in the combined jurisdictions of Damascus Governorate and Rural Damascus Governorate is 3.82 million (2004 est.), of which 79% or 3.02 million is urban, accounting for 31% of the total urban population in Syria. The population growth in this capital region, however, has decelerated in recent years. Still, Rural Damascus is the largest receiving area of internal migration in Syria (JICA, 2009c). For further information, refer to Figure A3-26 in Appendix 3-8.

Apart from the recorded figures that describe the city shape and its expansion over time since the Byzantine era up to the 20th century (refer to Table A3-12 in Appendix 3-11) included in literature about the history of Damascus city and its urban growth, no records of development plans preparation has been found before the French mandate period (1920-1946) when the first master plan for Damascus, as shown in Figure 3-12, was prepared by Ecochard and Danger[70] in 1936-1937. Damascus second master plan for the target year of 1985 was prepared during 1964-68 by a team of French experts led by Ecochard and Banshoya (see Figure 3-13) (DeGeorge, 2004; Abdeen, 2008; JICA, 2009c).

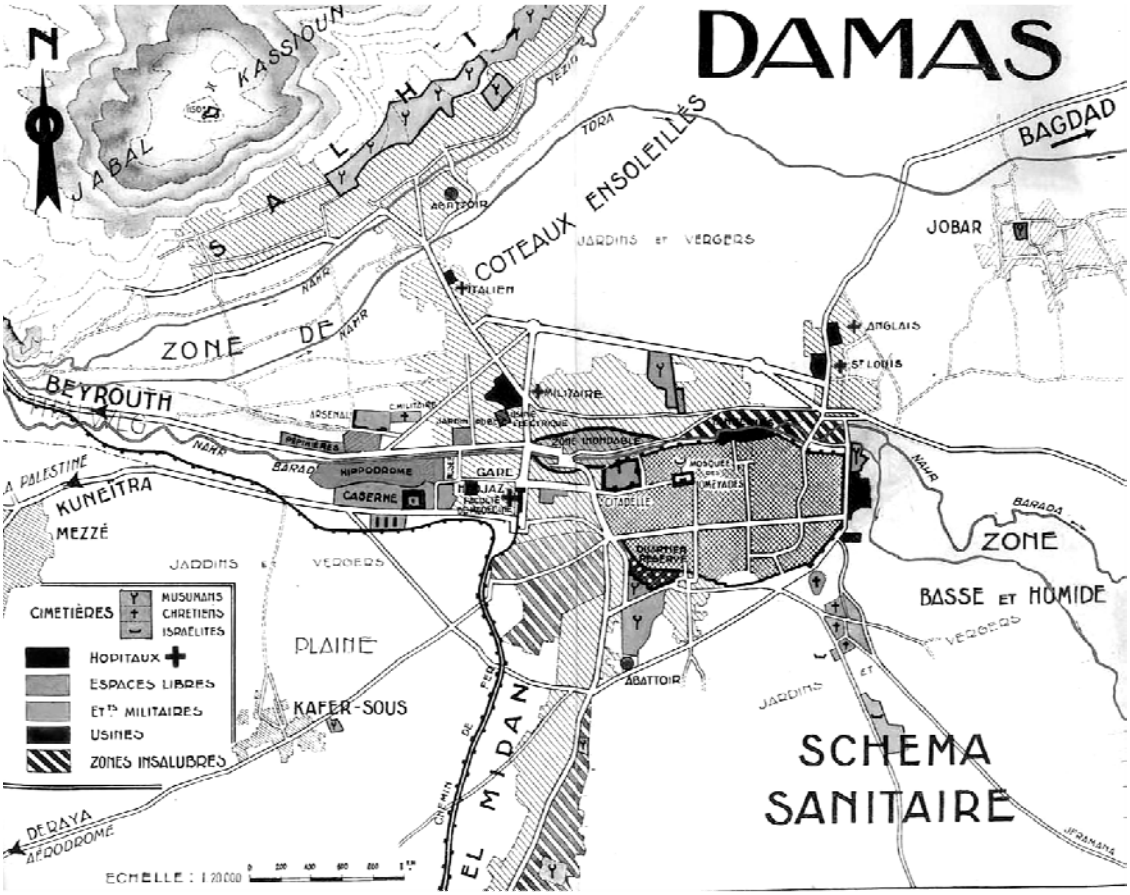


Figure 3-12: Damascus Master Plan 1936 : Main circulation networks

Source: (Ecochard, et al., 1937), collected from GoD archive by the author in 2010

[70] Danger was one of the pillars of the French Society of Urban Planners and the director of urban planning in Damascus during the French Mandate (1920-1947) (Haddad, 2009).

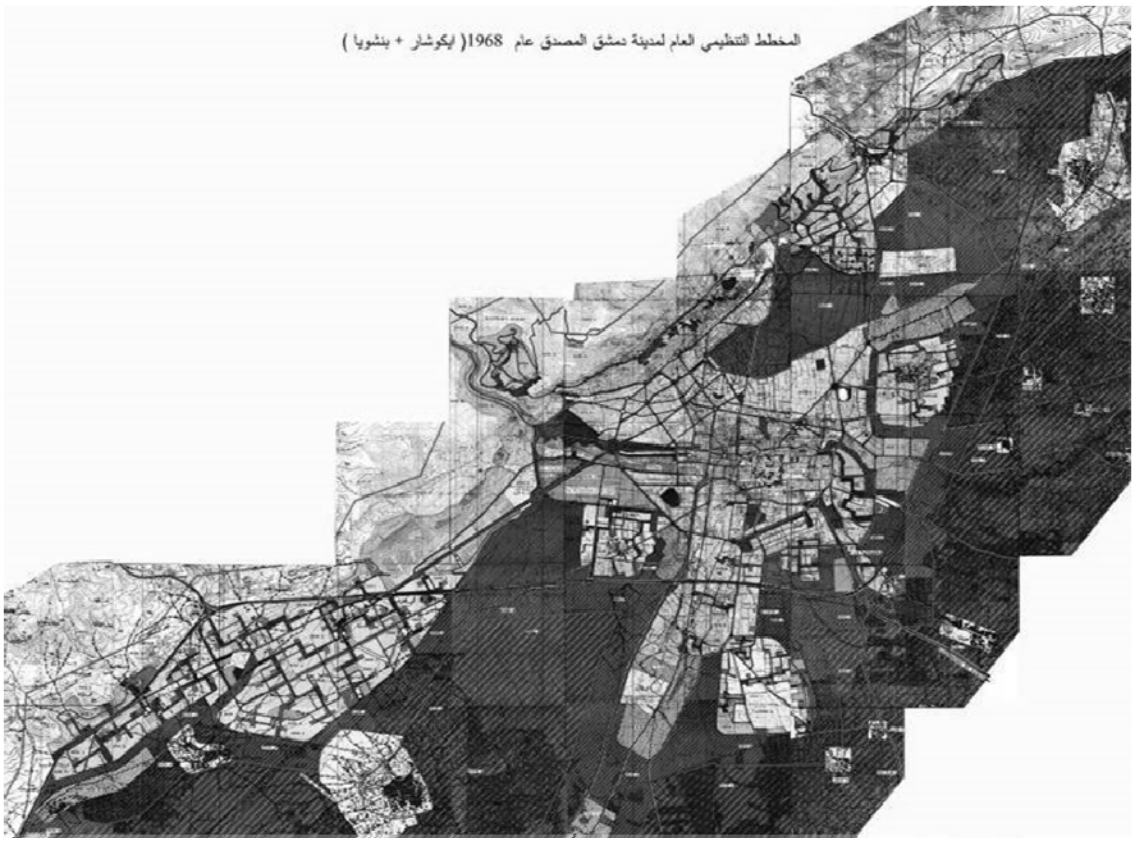


Figure 3-13: Damascus Master Plan certified in 1968
Source: (Ecochard, et al., 1968), collected from GoD archive by the author in 2010

This master plan was the basis for most of the formal urban development which took place in the city until the early 1990s. However, during this period Damascus experienced a rapid urbanisation due to the influx of population since 1948 due to regional wars on the one hand and the increasing administrative and economic role of the city on the other (Toutounji, 1999; Fakoush, 2009). Therefore, the plan – which was prepared when the population of Damascus was about 500,000 and did not consider either the natural expansion of the city or the local changing needs of the people (Toutounji, 1999) - has long been considered outdated and GoD faced difficulties in implementing many parts of it due to it not being a priority for the city's needs or because it was already informally developed. Therefore, some parts of the city were developed according to the plan, others were developed according to proposals made by the UPD in GoD and the rest was informally developed, containing some 30% of the city's population (see Figure 3-14) (Fakoush, 2009; Toutounji, 1999).

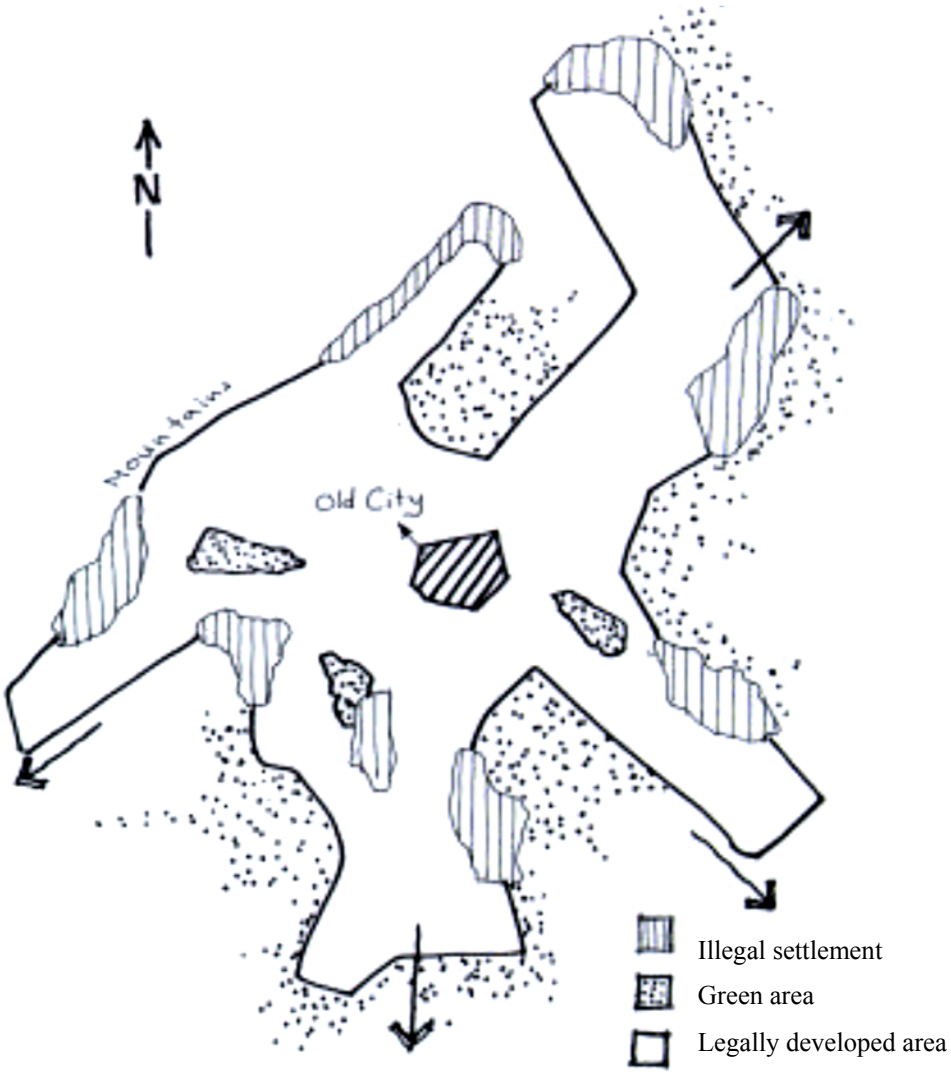


Figure 3-14: Damascus informal settlements and unplanned expansion
Source: (Toutounji, 1999 p. 2)

The third attempt by the GCEC, employed by GoD, to prepare a master plan started in 1991, and a draft map showing the plan on a scale of 1 to 10,000 was published in 2001 (JICA, 2009c p. 1:1; Safadi, 2009). However, this master plan has not been adapted formally to be put into implementation due to complications in the administration of its stages preparation[71] (Abdeen, 2008). However, according to the project manager involved in the preparation of this master plan, the plan was not sufficient to deal with the issues facing the Damascus region in relation to divided land ownership, military controlled areas, excluding water supply and sewerage planning, not considering the potential effects of the metro development, and changes in the

[71] No detailed reasons have been found in this relation.

administrative boundaries of the city and has excluded the informal housing areas from the detailed development plans (MAM, 2003; JICA, 2009c pp. 1:1-1:2).

Therefore, urbanisation in Damascus city and its region has proceeded with a dramatic increase due to the accelerating rise of population numbers without an effective master plan, since the Ecochard-Banshoya plan has been outdated and recent plans have not been adopted formally. This, accompanied by the weak performance of planning regulations, has caused several urban problems to occur. These are mainly related to, first, problematic traffic congestion, second, degraded environmental living conditions within the city and, third, the rapid expansion of informal housing within and around the city which currently houses 30% of the city's population (Fakoush, 2009), especially on the southern slope of Mt. Qassyoon and in the Al-Ghouta farmland extending into the southern suburbs of the city (JICA, 2009c p. 1:2; Abdeen, 2008).

Consequently, GoD, under the direction of MoLA, employed JICA in September 2006 to prepare a study for a regional development strategy for the Damascus metropolitan area as an attempt to control these problems and arrive at applicable solutions for them and this was completed in May 2008 and published in 2009. However, GoD disagreed with the study, overlooked it and arranged for the employment of other parties to develop a study for the same purpose. Among these parties were GCEC, Tercon[72] and Khatib&Alami[73]. The study started with the stage of preparing a data base along with a spatial development strategy, and these were presented in a workshop which took place in GoD in March 2010 and this was attended by the author during the main field trip. However, the study components and outcomes are not the focus of this research, but those involved in the study and how its outcomes were reached is where the research focus lies and this will be partly discussed in this chapter under the following topic, and further expanded on in chapters six and seven.

[72] Tercon is an urban development consultancy which works in co-operation with German experts. It has been employed by the Ministry of Presidential Affairs to carry out various urban studies within the city of Damascus and its region.
[73] Khatib&Alami is a Lebanese urban development multi-disciplinary consultancy and study group.

3.4.2 Damascus urban development decision-making actors

Urban development governmental authorities

Urban development governmental institutions in Syria are of a hierarchical nature (refer to Figure 3-4). All the social, economic and environmental development five-year plans are prepared centrally by the SPC in cooperation with related government organisations and these, in relation to urban development in terms of land-use, include the Ministry of State for Environmental Affairs (MoSEA), the Ministry of Tourism (MoT), the Ministry of Culture (MoC), the Ministry of Religious Endowments (MoRE) – which is the largest landholder in the country - the Ministry of Housing and Construction (MoHC) and, most importantly, the Ministry of Local Administration (MoLA).

In terms of urban planning, policy making is carried out by MoHC while implementation is the responsibility of MoLA. This was the way to carry out planning activities until 2004 when Legislative Decree no.64 was issued to transfer all urban planning activities to fall under the remit of MoLA. However, MoHC still has its role in this via the General Company for Engineering Studies and Consulting (GCESC), which is owned by MoHC and was established in 1980 and since then has been responsible for studying, designing and supervising different engineering projects on the national, regional and local levels, and this includes providing studies and professional advice to the local government on designing land-use plans. This is in addition to the input of the other organisations mentioned above which ranges from land ownership, issuing permissions, providing databases and supervising professionally related projects (e.g. restoration projects will be supervised by MoC).

On the local level, urban development is administrated via a number of local administrative bodies called the governorates. Each governorate operates a number of cities, towns, villages and farms[74] according to Law 15 of 1971, and is headed by a governor who is nominated by the Ministry of Interior and approved by the Prime Ministry via an executive decree (refer to Figure 3-4). Every governorate has a council which consists of publicly elected members (elections are run every 4 years) and among these a few are chosen by the central government to form the executive office of the

[74] Syria has 14 governorates. These operate 109 cities, 284 towns, 207 villages and 854 farms (Haddad, 2009).

governorate. The executive office is usually the main operator of the governorate's responsibilities and works with the governorate's directorates to administrate the local issues. The directorates are to operate the governorate local issues according to speciality and usually work in coordination with the related ministries (refer to Figure 3-15)[75].

The organisational structure of Damascus governorate consists of the governorate council (of 30-100 members calculated on the basis of one representative for every 10,000 citizens), the Executive Office (10 members) and a total of 18[76] different directorates (refer to Figure 3-16). Each directorate is responsible for a specific activity ranging from health, education, finance and technical studies to issues of local urban development and land-use, and these later are the responsibility of both the Urban Planning Directorate (UPD) in relation to all areas outside the old city, and Damascus Old City Directorate (DOD) in relation to areas within the old city which are defined by the old city wall. These two directorates facilitate master planning and planning applications within Damascus city. Furthermore, they modify urban planning regulations. However, despite the greater power GoD currently enjoys in relation to local administration of urban development, GoD is still expected to function according to the action plans received from MoLA (MoLA, 2009c; GoD, 2006; Haddad, 2009).

[75] The directorates shown in Figure 3-15 are the ones usually found in all the governorates. However, the number of directorates differs from one governorate to another according to the size and type of responsibilities the governorate administrates.

[76] Damascus governorate used to have 5 directorates before 1975. The number rose to 18 according to the GoD website. The number is mentioned as 27 in (Haddad, 2009), but no record of this has been found at the time of doing this research.

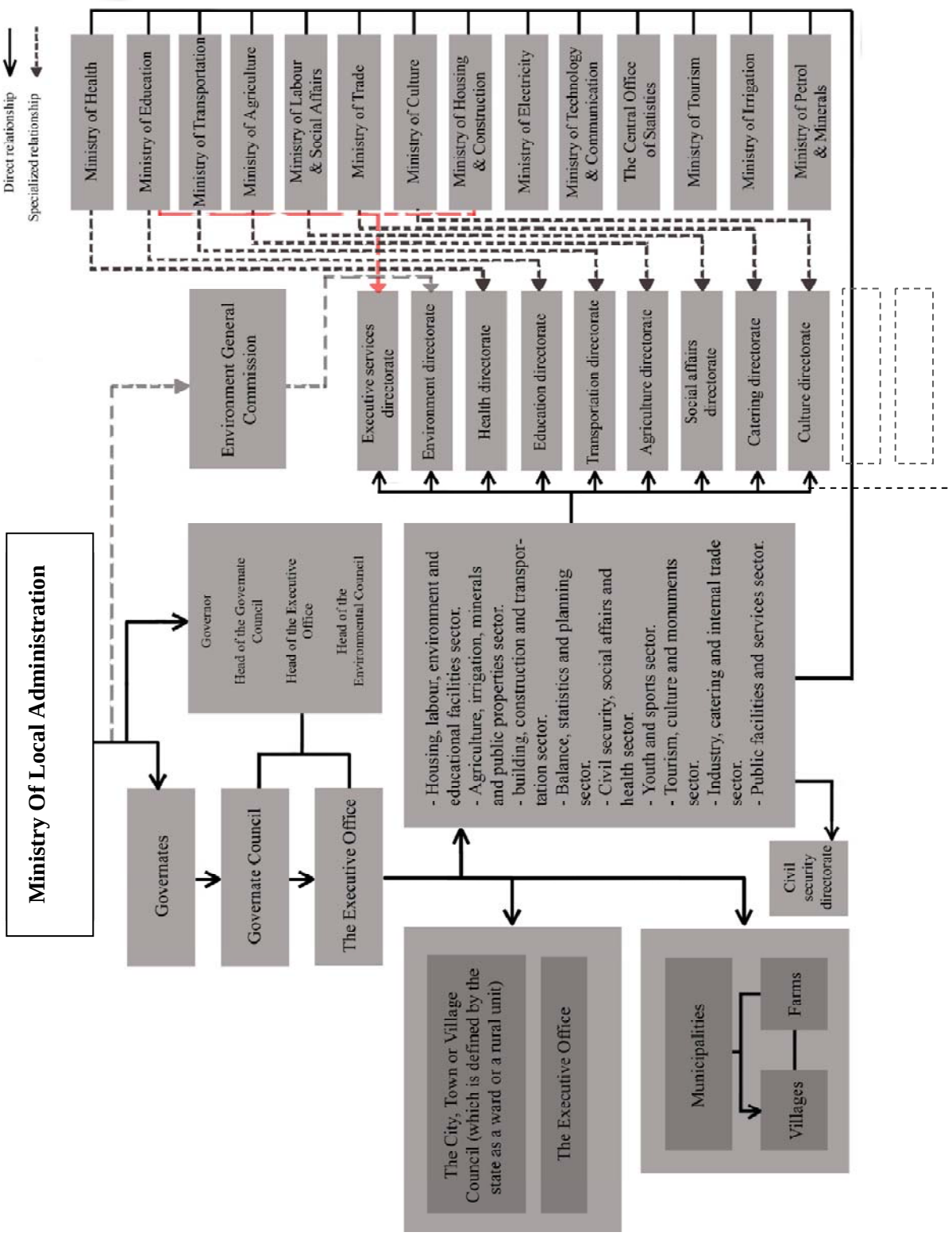


Figure 3-15: Local administration organisational structure

Source: The author[77]

[77] This is an amendment and translation from Arabic of the structure available on the ministry of local administration website in (MoLA, 2009a). However, the Ministry of Local Administration and Environment has now been named the Ministry of Local Administration (MoLA) as since 2009 all environmental affairs and responsibilities have been dealt with in a newly established Ministry of State for Environmental Affairs (MoSEA), and the figure above concerns the MoLA alone now.

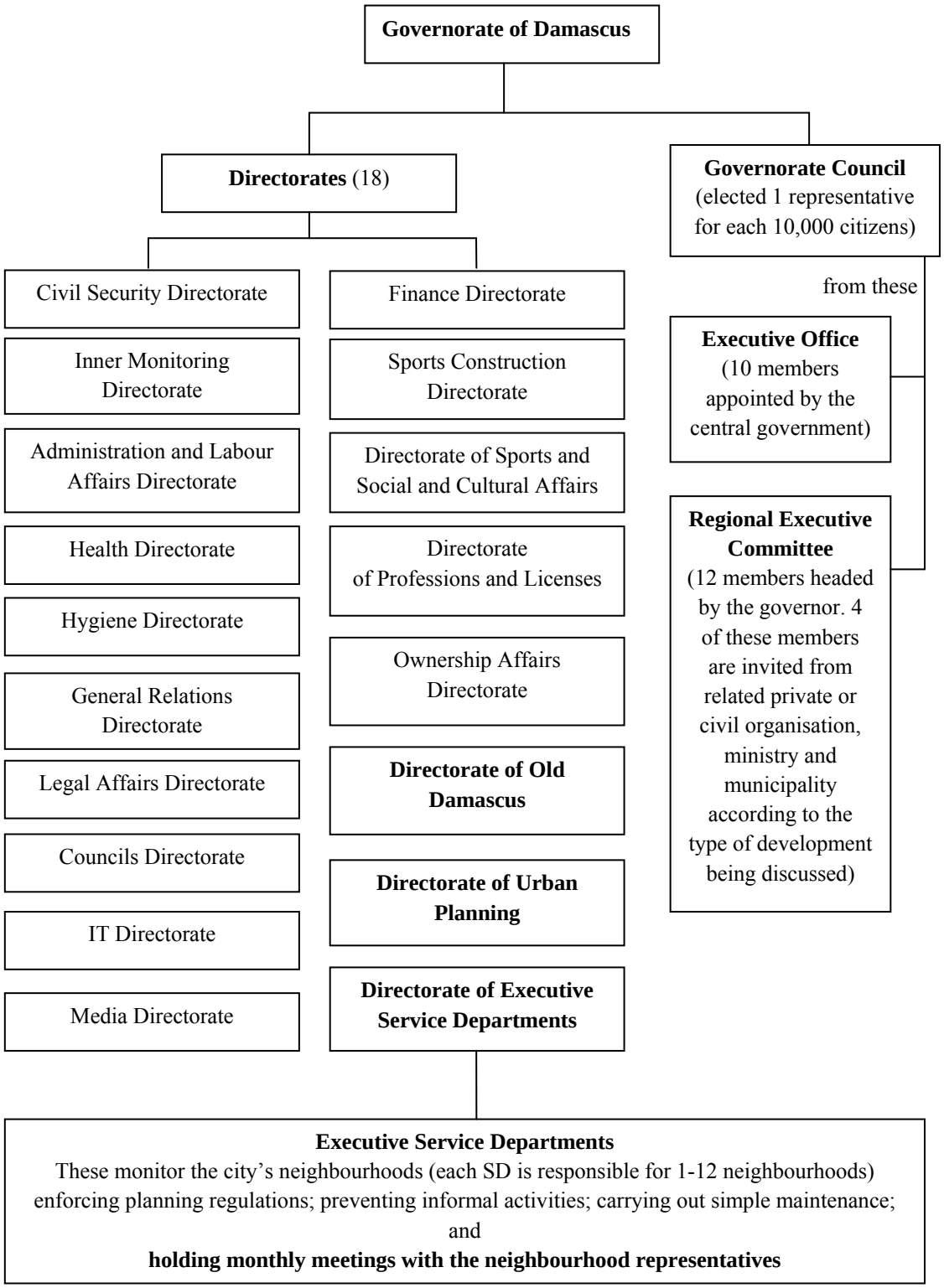


Figure 3-16: Governorate of Damascus organisational structure with focus on urban development related responsible departments

Source: The author

Another directorate which is very important in relation to urban development in the city is the Directorate of Executive Service Departments (DESD) which is responsible for urban development monitoring and services provision on the level of a neighbourhood. Thus, the DESD consists of a number of executive service departments[78] (ESDs) that monitor a total of 62 neighbourhoods[79], as each ESD is responsible for 1-12 neighbourhoods[80]. The ESD is considered to be at the bottom of the urban development organisational hierarchy (refer to Figure 3-16) and is in direct touch with the local inhabitants as it is responsible for providing local services and simple maintenance works to the neighbourhood and participates in the administration of major developments taking place within the area under its authority. Besides, it enforces planning regulations in the neighbourhood and works to prevent informal developments and activities (informal buildings, unlicensed goods trading and vending). Furthermore, and most importantly for the focus of this research, the ESD is the state's local body which has direct contact with neighbourhood communities. This is via monthly meetings carried out with the local elected mayors (Makhateer, singular: Mukhtar) where issues of local developments and services provision are communicated. The local mayor (one for each neighbourhood) is considered to be the neighbourhood representative, and usually conveys the neighbourhood committee views to the local authorities. The neighbourhood committee is usually formed of the heads of the major families and clans in the neighbourhood along with a mixture of appointed members by the governorate and elected representatives among the locals[81]. However, the fast pace of rapid urbanisation within the city has kept most of the local committees outside the development process due to time constraints. In this, the REC tends to proceed with its meetings despite the absence of the local representatives, who in many cases are not even invited, for the sake of reaching a faster decision to proceed with the intended development and to avoid any potential objections that can delay the process. Besides, the constant social changes within Damascus made these committees less representative, as new community groups (in terms of origin, interest, etc) constantly reside in the city neighbourhoods, and those representative members may not be

[78] According to JICA (1999), the total number of service departments in GoD is 11. However, the number is mentioned as being 15 in Haddad (2009) based on field research. However, no definite record of the total number has been found at the time of doing this research.
[79] This is according to Haddad (2009).
[80] The number of neighbourhoods each service department is responsible for is decided according to the size of the population of the neighbourhoods and, accordingly, the demand on services in a way that creates a balance in responsibilities.
[81] This is according to Haddad (2009) and data derived from informal interviews.

included in the committees. Furthermore, the states' allocated members are not necessarily from the related neighbourhoods. Thus, they are not aware of the local interests and concerns of the related neighbourhood community.

The Governorate Council has wide control over local urban development decision-making under the local Administration Law no.15 of 1971. This role is fulfilled through two parties, first, the Governorate Executive Office (GEO) which is the responsible party for local development plans preparation and, second, the Regional Executive Committee (REC) which is considered to be the key decision-maker in relation to development plans (apart from those concerning the city centre) and approval of planning applications. However, the final decision maker in relation to development plans within Damascus city (the centre) is the MoLA, and this applies to development plans that concern all city centres in the country (MoLA, 2009c).

The Governorate Executive Office (GEO) consists of ten members appointed by the central government from the council's elected members. This is the main entity in charge of the development issues of local social services, public construction studies and structural and master plan preparation. These are usually carried out in cooperation with the related directorate within the governorate or directly with the related ministry if the development is on a big scale. The Regional Executive Committee (REC), however, is formed by the governor, a member from the GEO, the executive services director, the monuments director in the related governorate, the principal of urban planning in the DESD, two planners and one expert in planning legislation, the head of the related municipality, a representative of the related ministry (allocated), a member from the related association or union (democratically elected), and the principal of the executive affairs in the related municipality (does not vote). The REC is the responsible party for legalising urban development plans and giving planning permission. However, this operates under close supervision of the MoLA especially in relation to development plans within the city centre. Planning permission or approval for detailed master plans of other areas within Damascus governorate administration are given directly by the REC without consulting the MoLA unless no decision has been made by the REC due to an undecided vote. This is when the application is taken to the MoLA for revision and/or final decision (refer to Figure 3-21).

To sum up, Damascus local government's role in relation to urban development in terms of land-use is mainly carried out by three directorates, UPD, DOD (for areas within the old city) and DESD. The tasks of UPD and DOD are related to development plans preparation and processing planning applications, while DESD, via its ESDs, is in charge of managing and maintaining local services, monitoring planning regulations enforcement on the neighbourhood level and sometimes supervising development project implementation within the areas under their authorities. The governorate's authority is verified via its GEO which is the main entity that suggests development plan strategies and designs and these are revised and amended by REC. However, development master plans approval is within the control of MoLA while only detailed plans at a neighbourhood level can be approved by the governorate council.

Damascus economy

The local economy of Damascus is relatively well-developed and currently is the strongest and largest in the country. This is due to the fact that Damascus is the administrative, legislative and financial capital of Syria and the attraction for most tourism, investments and labour force. "The JICA Study estimated the gross regional domestic product (GRDP) of Damascus Metropolitan Area (DMA)[82], which accounts for about 29% of the gross domestic product (GDP) of Syria, and the per capita GRDP of the DMA is some 40% larger than the per capita GDP of Syria" (JICA, 2009c p. 3).

Damascus has a wide range of industrial activities, such as textile, food and cement processing, and various chemical industries. The majority of these industrial establishments and facilities are run by the state. However, limited privatization of these in addition to industrial activities led by the private sector have been permitted since the early 2000s, when trade liberalization policies started to take place. Traditional handcrafted items and artisan copper engravings are still produced in the old city. Most goods produced in Damascus, and in Syria in general, are exported to the Arabian Peninsula and Eastern Europe (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2011).

The tourism industry in Damascus has promising potential, as since the 1980s increasing efforts to employ the city's cultural wealth have started to be made. This has

[82] Damascus Metropolitan Area DMA is defined by JICA as consisting of the city of Damascus and its adjacent rural surroundings.

been greatly supported since the 2000s by the development of several accommodation and transportation establishments and other related investments in order to increase the city's tourism returns (WSJ, 2009).

The real-estate sector is booming in Damascus. Real-estate adviser Cushman & Wakefield listed Damascus office space as the eighth most expensive in the world in 2009[83]. This is in addition to residential real-estate prices having tripled since 2004 (WSJ, 2009; Cushman & Wakefield, 2009). Therefore, the real-estate market is expanding fast, as currently the demand for real-estate space far exceeds the supply, and this makes real-estate development an attraction for investment at the moment.

The finance sector is witnessing significant growth, as today Syria boasts seven private banks (in joint ventures with regional banks) and two Islamic banks with combined assets of $3.56 billion (all bank headquarters are located in Damascus), offering private banking services that were absent from the Syrian market[84] (SF, 2007). Besides, the insurance sector which started to operate in 2006 is surpassing all expectations, accounting for 30% of the insurance market after only one year of operation (SF, 2007). In addition, the Damascus Stock Exchange[85] has bloomed significantly since it was formally opened for trade in March 2009 (currently operates 5 days a week and the general exchange value was $1.23million on the first of March 2011) (SEBC, 2009; SF, 2007; SyriaNews, 2011).

Formal economic activities in Damascus are held by a diverse array of public and private bodies. Large activities are generally owned by the state, yet there are major private economic activities, especially in the field of services (finance, communications, trade and education), and these are growing to become major employers in the city. This is besides other medium and small sized enterprises which form an essential part of the formal economy[86].

[83] That is behind Paris and two spots ahead of midtown Manhattan (WSJ, 2009).
[84] "Syrian banking sources confirm that deposits are growing at rates far exceeding expectations. In two and a half years of operations, one bank's deposits even exceed those of its Lebanese joint-venture partner. The same sources note that all Syrian private banks had turned a profit by the second year of operation, a full year ahead of industry standards" (SF, 2007).
[85] See Appendix 3-9 for further information on the public limited companies (PLCs) which operate on the Damascus Stock Exchange (DSE).
[86] Information on this has been derived from grey literature as no official records were found at the time of doing this research.

The private sector has become a leading employer in the city as a result of, first, the growing freedom given to the private sector; second, the state's intention to privatise most of its industrial sectors (SyriaNews, 2009c) due to its inability to restructure the public sector; third, the public sector's lack of productivity in the competitive international market and, fourth, the state breaking its commitment of providing new graduates with employment. Figure A3-27 and Figure A3-28 in Appendix 3-10 show the percentage of employment in the public and private sectors. These figures are based on the city's population statistics from the year 2004 shown in Figure A3-26 in Appendix 3-8.

Figure 3-17: Goods provided to an informal shop within Qassyoon informal settlement
Source: (Fakoush, 2009)

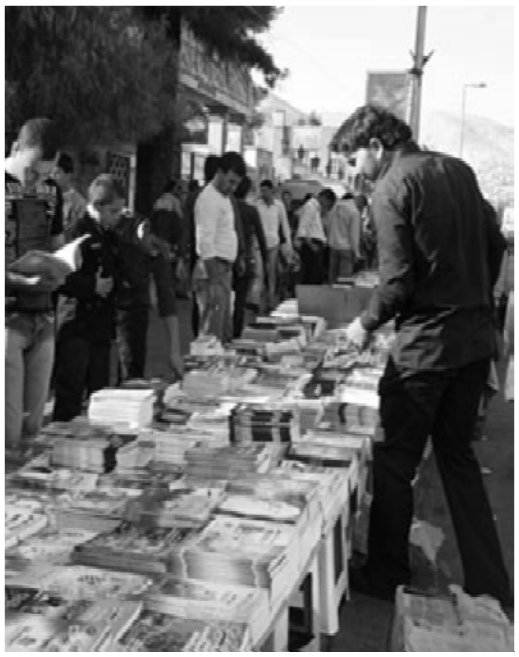


Figure 3-18: Books flea market near Damascus University in the city centre
Source: (AllSyrian, 2010)

Informal economic activities are also growing significantly in the city area. These are manly in the fields of real-estate, trade and small manufacturers. In this, informal settlements take place at the edges of the formal urban developed area of the city (refer to Figure 3-14) where people of limited income and rural in-migrants usually live. This is in addition to wide spread informal trade activities of whole-salers, flea markets and individual peddlers (see Figure 3-17, Figure 3-18 and Figure 3-19). These activities usually take place within the informal developments and even within the main shopping streets in the city, within public spaces and small openings among the formal residential

areas. Besides, several manufacturing workshops have spread within informal settlements, as well as within the formal urban areas, and these are mainly related to joinery, metal, fabric and other artistic and small-sized trade activities[87].

However, reflecting on Jenkins and Wilkinson's argument (2002 p. 36), it is hard to consider these activities to be growth enterprises as they are closer to survivalist activities. Yet, undoubtedly, these activities are linked to the formal sector which provides the source of supply for materials and finished goods.

Although these activities are not formally institutionalised, they are embedded in wide, highly organised, locally-based social networks based on issues of kinship. These have spread to include members in the public sector who guarantee the local authorities passive tolerance with these activities (Abdin, et al., 2008; Jenkins, et al, 2002 p. 36). Although this has lately started to change under the terms of new economic regulations and market restructuring, as yet informal economic activities have a well rooted position within the city's market but none of these activities occurs on a significant scale - apart from the informal housing market which dominates a considerable part of the housing market in the city (around 30% of the city's area is informally developed as recognised in Figure 3-14).

Figure 3-19: Individual peddlers within the old city markets

Source: (Flickr, 2011)

[87] This is according to a variety of sources, MAM reports, UNDP reports, grey literature and feedback from informal interviews, in addition to the researcher's experience and observations from being a citizen of the city.

Damascus enjoys the highest employment rates in the country (see Figure A3-27 and Figure A3-28 in Appendix 3-10 on employment rates in the public and private sectors). This is because most of the public sector administrative and executive bodies are located there. Besides, most formal private investments and headquarters are located within Damascus. Furthermore, the city enjoys well-developed education institutions and capacity building centres. This has made Damascus a centre of national interest and caused its sphere of attraction to cover all of the country. In other words, Damascus has been the destination for internal immigration from other cities and areas in the country in search for education or job opportunities reflected in the dramatic growth of Damascus since 1990 until the present day. Figure 3-20 shows the sphere of attraction of Damascus and the areas from which it receives most immigrants.

The labour force in the Damascus area enjoys significantly higher skill levels than the national average (CBoS, 2007b). This might be due to the nationally high, yet internationally moderately developed, educational achievements. But, formal employment rates are expected to decline because of the demand for high skilled labour force especially by the private sector and recently by the public sector; and the state's new plans for legislating and regulating the labour market. Thus, informal employment is expected to grow[88].

In summary, Damascus enjoys a strong economy and good employment rates at the national level. However, with the declining productivity of the public sector and the increasing freedom given to the private sector by the new economic reforms, the private sector has started to dominate the formal economic sector and labour market. Besides, the highly skilled labour force demanded by both the public and private sectors and the lack of former flexibility in employment processes in the public sector have caused informal economic activities to grow dramatically with the support of well-developed social networks which are linked to the public sector to provide protection and resources. This nature of economy has created a diverse market environment where a strong state-market relationship exists in terms of both formal and informal activities. This relationship, undoubtedly, is reflected in the area of planning governance and this is discussed under 'spheres of relationship among actors' below.

[88] This conclusion was reached by the author as a result of the market overview combined with information from grey literature.

Damascus civil society

The city of Damascus's population of 1.572 million (CBoS 2007 est.) is a diverse mixture of different ethnicities and religions of local, national and regional origins. In addition to the North Caucasus, the main influx of population to Damascus started in 1948, and those mainly included war refugees from Palestine. These were followed by continuous flows of immigrants from different parts of Syria due to the increasing political and financial role of Damascus. Another group of immigrants came to Damascus in 1967 - war refugees from Palestine and southern Syria. During the 80s and 90s, as seen in Figure 3-20, Damascus received continuous in-migration from different regions of Syria in the form of people seeking employment and education (Fakoush, 2009). Furthermore, in 2003, Damascus received a considerable number of Iraqi war refugees[89] as a part of a larger number settled in different areas of the country and estimated by UNHCR in early 2007 to exceed 1.2 million (Al-Miqdad, 2007)[90]. Damascus has a small group of international workers who work in the city's international agencies, education centres and embassies in addition to some businesses run by the private sector (CBoS, 2007a).

This diverse nature of society, with a majority from rural areas of Syria, has brought a variety of cultural practices to the city. However, the differences in these cultural institutions, formal and informal, are not considered problematic, as they are similarly highly shaped by the urban context of the city in a way that keeps the size of difference to the minimum, especially in relation to the new generation, without any effect on society's activities[91].

The formal structure of civil society in Damascus is well organised yet with a limited space to function which is restricted to some economic, social and environmental issues with close supervision from related ministries. The formal CSOs are considered the representatives of different civil society interests in new development forums in GoD. However, the degree of this representation and its effectiveness vary from one organisation to the other, and this is very much related to issues of size, activeness and

[89] No definite number has been found. However, the civil records of population do not include Iraqi refugees.
[90] Dr Faisal Al-Miqdad is Syria's Deputy Foreign Minister.
[91] This is a reflection on Jenkins, et al (2002) using Syrian grey literature and interview data.

organisational structure. In this, it may be valid to say that political parties are represented in the People's Assembly and professional associations; unions and faith-based organisations are considered to be well represented in GoD (as a representative is called out to join the REC when having a decision on a development that may affect the interests of the related CSO)[92].

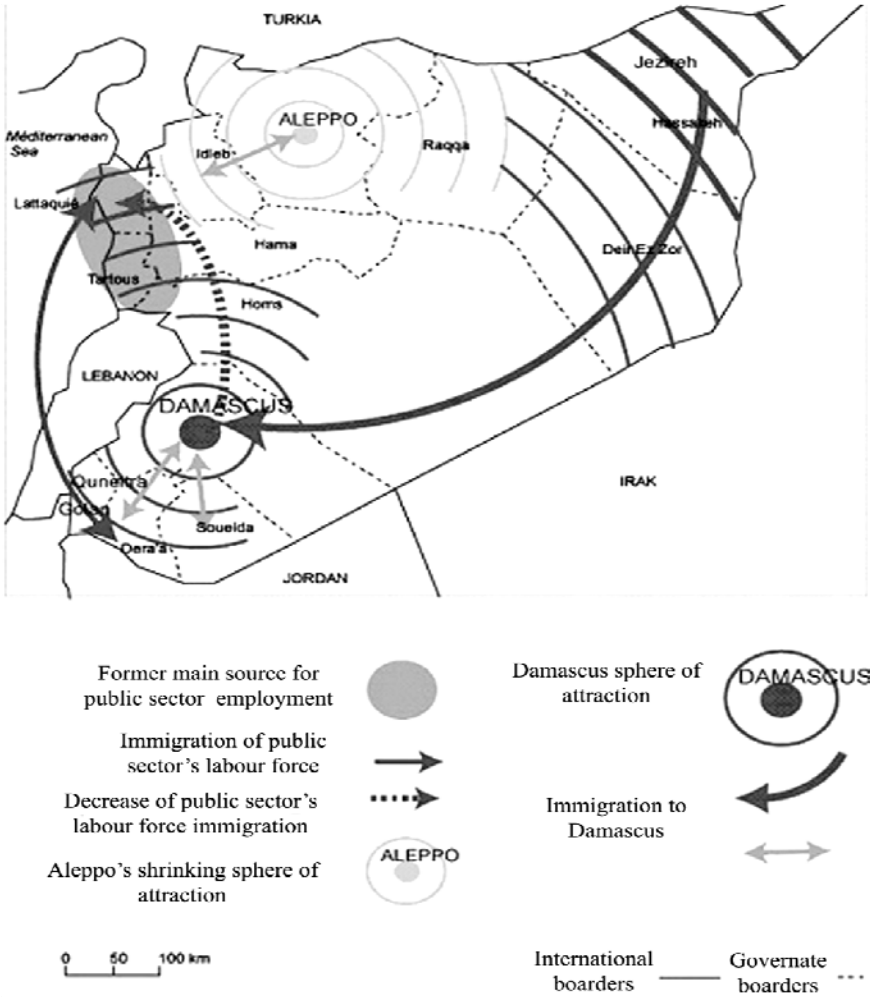


Figure 3-20: Internal immigration in Syria between 1990 and 1995

Source: (MoSEA, 2011), translated by the author

Most CSOs with a mainly economic function were established after 2001. These are still small in number and exist mostly in the form of professional and business non-profit organisations which work to advocate business opportunities and co-optations with international parties[93]. Economic CSOs are established with the consent of and under the supervision of the Ministry of Economy and Trade (MoET).

[92] This is based on data from grey literature and governmental websites.

[93] e.g. Syrian American Business Council whose activities are based on collective work in the service of economic relations between the Syrian Arab Republic and the United States of America.

Socially-based CSOs are mainly concerned with issues of capacity building, service delivery and cultural functions. Most of these are in the form of charities that provide health services costs assistance, food and clothing and orphan support services[94]. Religion-based organisations are active in the city, yet their activities mainly consist of fundraising for charity, preaching and praying. There are a limited number of development-based organisations in the city. Most of these, however, function in the area of assessing public awareness of issues related to the environment and the city's built heritage[95]. These, sometimes, have an effect on development decision-making if a representative in called out to attend the REC meetings or GoD workshops on relevant developments. Nonetheless, newly established development-based NGOs (mostly from 2007) are currently focussing on capacity building and awareness of the importance of changing attitudes in order to boost learning; rural development; and culture and heritage. These are working via strong partnerships with governmental bodies, international parties and private sector organisations. All socially-based SCOs function under the supervision of the MoSAL.

Despite formal CSOs being well organised and, some of them, quite effective in their areas of action, these still do not include wider community groups in terms of representation and service delivery[96]. This is combined with the local authorities' inability to cope with the dramatic demographic changes the city has experienced over the past 60 years and, in addition, the private sector only being interested in providing service to society groups of medium and high affluence, and these are not the majority of the city population.

Thus, informal, grassroots, and community-based associations have emerged in the form of social, economic and cultural practices. These are originally based on rural traditions – as the majority of the inhabitants of Damascus are immigrants from rural areas or other countries in the region - but largely modified by the urban context. These informal organisations are quite effective in terms of service delivery and are usually represented via accepted community members or family elders who are well connected

[94] An example of these charities is Prospect Reservation Charity which provides food and clothing to the poor. From this charity emerges a subservice of the Excellency Orphanage (interviews).
[95] An example of this is the Friends of Damascus Association which is concerned with issues of the city identity and heritage.
[96] As some charities only concern people of a certain ethnicity or profession. Besides, and this is most likely to be the case, CSOs mostly act in the areas of assessing education and social and cultural awareness and this, sometimes, may not be the main concern of a large section of the public.

with the local authorities and the private sector via kinship relations. This relationship sustains service delivery to those not represented by formal CSOs or those of limited income who cannot meet their needs through the formal ways of representation or market. An example of this kind of informal service delivery is the informal housing which has proven to be successful in terms of meeting the needs of a considerable part of the city's population. This will be further explored in the analysis of the Qassyoon informal settlements case study in chapters five and six.

In summary, Damascus civil society is diverse in terms of religion and ethnicity. Two types of organisational structure define the relationship of the city's society with both the state and the private sector. First is the formal structure of civil society which is represented in different CSOs that are mostly socially, economically or environmentally-oriented. These vary in their level of representation and effectiveness in terms of service delivery. The limited autonomy of structure and function of the formal CSOs combined with the state's failure to cover society service demand and the private sector's lack of interest in social service investments has caused the second form of civil society to occur. This is of an informal type and based on the relations of kinship. This form of civil society, however, has proven to be more representative of local needs and quite effective in terms of service delivery via its well established relations with the local authorities, the private sector and even the formal CSOs, and this is reflected, in terms of land-use, in the built environment of the city especially in relation to informal settlements.

3.4.3 Spheres of relationship among actors: Damascus urban development institutional overview

Urban development decision-making in terms of land-use is based on a substantial body of laws and regulations which are directly or indirectly relevant to urban planning. These have been continuously developed and amended as these go back to the Ottoman era, through the French mandate and up to more recently. The following Table 3-1 summarises these according to the area of concern of each legal instrument with an emphasis on direct relations with land-use decision-making. These form the mental models of urban development actors and to a great extent shape their spheres of relationship.

Table 3-1: Planning and urban development laws and regulations currently followed by the planning authorities in Syria

Area of concern	Number and year of legal instrument
Legal instruments relevant to urban planning and control	
Real estate regulations	Editorial and division course Decision 186/1926 The executive bylaw for land registry law Decision 189/1926 Estate improvement duty Law 153/1949 and Decree 68/1965 Syrian civil law regarding changes of real estate status Law 84/1949 The executive bylaw for Agrarian Reform Decree 109/1963 Common ownership removal Law 21/1986 Marine ownership Law 65/2001 Optional definition within unregistered areas Decision 2576/1929
Urban planning	Urban development planning **Decree 5/1982** and Law 41/2002
Urban land division	Urban land division **Law 9/1974** (amended by Law 46/2004)
Urban land acquisition	Expropriation Inside Urban Plan for Public Needs **Decree 20/1983** (amended by Decree 437/1983 to define planning standards) Land acquisition **Law 60/1979** (amended by **Law 26/2000**) Land evacuation Law 232/1956
Real estate improvement duty fees Decree 98/1965	
Building on plots Law 14/1974 (amended by Law 59/1979)	
Informal development	Building infractions **Law 1/2003** Illegal buildings Law 59/2008 Property regulation **Law 33/2008** Property development Law 15/2008
Legal instruments relevant to urban development	
Organisational structure	SAR institution Municipal Act 172/1956 Local Administration Law15/1971 (amended by Decree 61/1974) Local Administration Law Executive Bylaw Decree 2297/1971 Environmental administration Decree 11/1991 Handing urban development duties over to MoLA Decree 64/2004
Finance	Non built plots fees Decree 39/1966 Local Administration financial Law 1/1994
Infrastructure	Wastewater connections Law 125/1959 Solid waste collection and disposal and waters pollution Law 49/2004

Source: The author[97]

[97] This table is with emphasis on the regulations (underlined) that are concerned with land-use decision-making. This was prepared by the author using gray literature, MAM and GIZ reports academics papers and studies available in the planning department in Damascus University. A summarised review of the content of the laws in bold is presented in Appendix A3-12.

Looking at these, it is clear that master plans and blueprint detailed plans are the main products of the planning system, while regional planning is poorly developed, and this is very much reflected in MAM's (2005 pp. 4-5) conclusions assessed by data retrieved from media sources. In addition, land ownership is very scattered among different authorities, private sector parties and individuals. This makes development site assembly time-consuming and a forum for conflict. Most importantly, there is a great difference in land value between government-led developments and private developments, as land for public services is usually obtained by the local authorities using acquisition law 60/1976 at a very low value rather than paying the price defined in the current open land market. This is in comparison to land identified for private development which is usually obtained at high prices.

Furthermore, the main uses being debated when taking land-use decisions are location of housing, working areas, facilities, and infrastructure. These uses are supervised and controlled by a wide array of different authorities[98], and these suffer different degrees of fragmentation between them, making any collective decision on land-use problematic. Additional fragmentation occurs between development plan preparation and implementation, and this includes issues of timing, funds and loss of knowledge input. Thus, development plans tend to become outdated, causing the planning system's usefulness to be limited to dealing with day-to-day situations, rather than effectively developing long-term solutions.

Most importantly to the focus of this research, there is no effective integration of other actors of society in the planning system. First, there is no clear input of the private sector and the only input from the community comes at the end of the process with the production of a final draft master plan, leading to the raising of many objections, each requiring revision by the REC and approval by the council. This makes a lengthy conflict inevitable and causes further delays in development planning and implementation, in turn causing a huge imbalance between service supply and demand. This leads to community-driven informal developments occurring, which is considered

[98] For example, issues of housing are mainly related to the Ministry of housing and construction, while issues of working areas and investments are related to the ministries of Economy, Finance and Social Affairs and Labour. Facilities are controlled by an even wider range of authorities depending on their type. Infrastructure also concerns a wide range of authorities from the Ministry of Housing and Construction to the Ministry of Transport, etc.

by the local authorities to be a major barrier to the formal development process in the city.

The key legal instrument that defines urban land-use development plans is Decree 5/1982 amended by Law 41/2002 which is demonstrated in Figure 3-21. In this, development plans (master or detailed) are put forward by the Executive Office of GoD (or any other party who works in partnership with the governorate) in accordance with the national development guidelines stated in the FYP and received from MoLA. The plan is sent out to the Governorate Council for primary approval. Once approved it is advertised within the main hall of the relevant municipality in order to receive any public objections. If the plan is not approved by the council in the first place, it is sent out to the REC for a decision. If a decision is still not reached, the issue is raised with the MoLA for approval. The plan in both cases goes back to the Governorate Council and into advertisement.

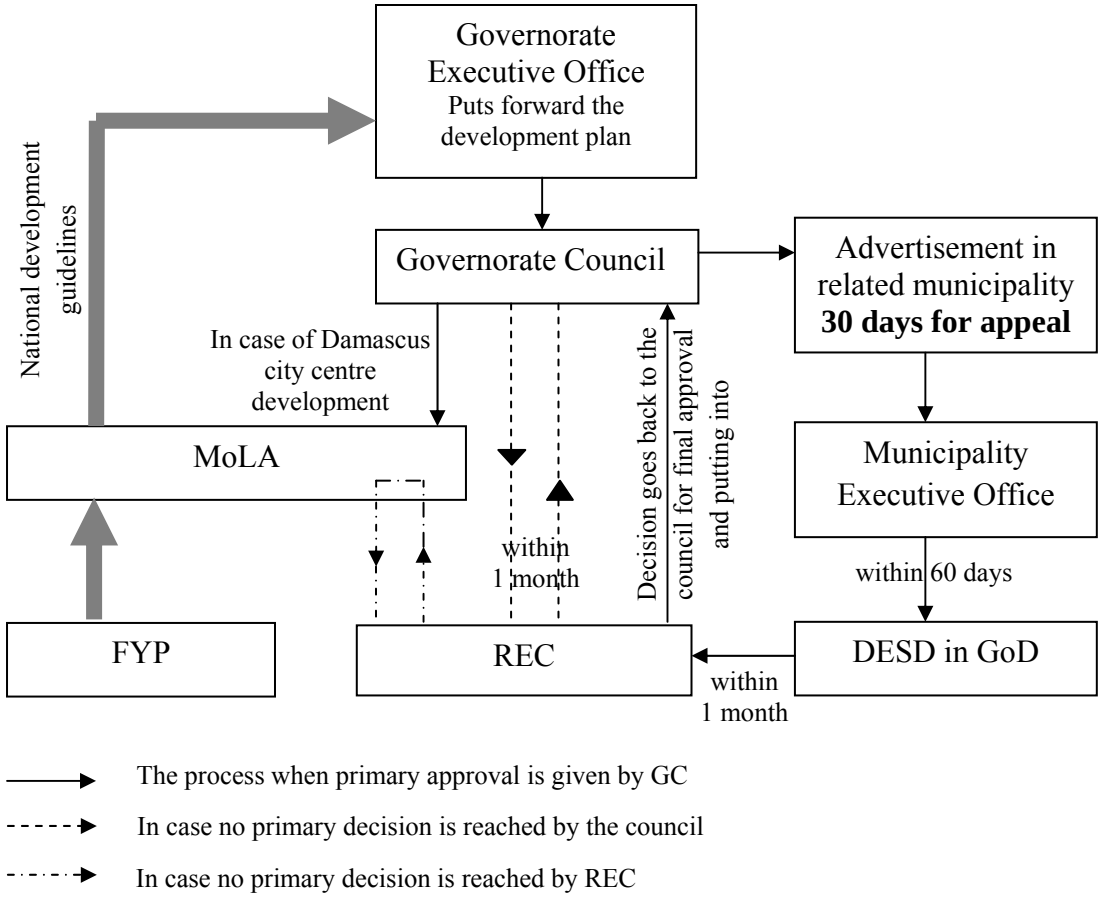


Figure 3-21: Urban development decision making process

Source: The author[99]

[99] This is allocated by the author using grey literature and governmental sources and websites.

Once the plan is advertised and objections are collected by the related municipality EO, the plan and the objections are sent out to the DESD in the GoD to amend the plan and from there once again to the REC and then to the Governorate Council for final approval and then into implementation stages. The final approval for plans concerning Damascus city centre are obtained only from MoLA. In all cases, the plan, once finally approved, cuts off any such sequent right to appeal.

The key actors in this process are defined by MAM (2005) – and divided into the three society spheres by the author - as politicians, governmental officials and technical specialists from the state sphere; foreign investors, local investors and traders and entrepreneurs from the market sphere; and chambers or trade and commerce and individual citizens from the civil society sphere. However, the input of actors from the market sphere, apart from their greater effect through planning control and individual development applications, is seen to be limited to appeal during the 30 days period. This is similar to the input of the civil society sphere which is restricted to the 30 day appeal period after the plan is advertised for three days within the main hall of the relevant municipality building, rather than being properly announced to the community using different media. This is unless an REC meeting is needed and representatives of relevant civil society organisations are then called out to the meeting. In this case there is a chance for civil society organisations to have a greater input in the development decision. This is, however, not the regular situation. Besides, issues of genuine representation of CSOs are widely argumentative. Therefore, development plans are not responsive to society needs.

Thus, it can be said that the input of the civil society in the 'formal' process of urban development decision-making in terms of land–use is very limited. This means development decisions are based principally on professionals' perception of local needs rather than being based on the actual demands of the local communities. This, however, has been the case since the Ottoman period when urban development institutions started to be developed until today. The following Table 3-2 shows the changes of urban development institutional context over the years up until the present day.

Table 3-2: The evolution of urban development institutional context in Damascus

Era	Year	Level of Planning	Development plans prepared	Players involved	Urban development organisational structure	Decision-making mechanism	Position of civil society participation
Ottoman era 1516-1920	1839	No record for development plans		Professionals from planning authorities **(the state)**	Ottoman hierarchy with a considerable level of decentralisation	Decision-making on land-use as carried out by professionals from the local authorities	No input
	1879		Land division plan				
	1910	Land division plan					
French mandate 1920-1946	1926	No record for development plans			A mixture of Ottoman and French organisational structure with an increasing level of centralisation	Land-use decisions were made by professionals who work in the planning authorities and decisions were highly centralised	
	1930		Ecochard & Dagner master plan				
	1937	City level master planning			A centralised organisational hierarchy		
Independent Syria 1946-onwards	1948						
	1959&1963		Ecochard&Banshoya master plan				
	1968					Since 1982, land-use decisions were still carried out by the planning authorities, yet a right to appeal is given to the public (see Figure 3-21)	30 days right to appeal after the publication of the development plan (see Figure 3-21)
	1978						
	1997						
	1991&2001		GCEC master plan				
	2004	City level master planning and local detailed plans		Local authorities in partnership with international agencies **(the state)**	A centralised organisational hierarchy with attempts to increase levels of decentralisation as emphasised in the 10th FYP and urged by UNDP		Local groups still have the right to appeal. Pilot projects that facilitated participation . However, participation is not yet legally adapted.
	2006	Regional planning	JICA master plan study for Damascus Metropolitan Area DMA				
	2008-2009						
	2009		Multi-party Regional development strategies				

Source: The author, allocated using grey literature

In other words, people do not inform decisions in their local area based on their own perception. Only planners and decision makers may make decisions on planned development based on their perceptions. However, informal settlements within and around the city are not an outcome of planned development but rather of a lack of planning on different levels (regional and local) resulting in uncontrolled urbanisation[100] (JICA, 2009b pp. 2-3). The increasing size of informal settlements has already been identified by the local authorities as a 'disturbance' to the development process in the city. Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored that those involved in the building of informal settlements have a strong effect on the development process and in determining land-uses in the city, not only by determining location, but also by setting basic layouts, as once the settlement is built "it develops informal mechanisms for resolving, for example, minor boundary disputes between neighbours" (MAM, 2005 p. 7). This effect is analysed in further depth in Chapters 5 and 6 when analysing Qassyoon informal settlement case study.

In summary, it is fair to say that "there are complex governmental systems at work in the planning and development processes, with complicated legislation in terms of urban development" (MAM, 2005 p. 7). These, however, are not effectively responsive to local needs due to issues of delay and conflict over land ownership and urban land-use decisions, and this is a consequence of, first, the centralisation of urban decision-making and, second, the un-integrated organisational structure of urban development decision-making and implementation within the local authority itself and between the different relevant bodies of governmental organisations – as clearly illustrated in the plan-approval process.

Urban development decision-making in terms of land-use is dominated by the perception of professionals within the local planning authorities and the input of actors from both the market and civil society spheres is very limited. Although there have been recent attempts to facilitate civil society participation in urban development decision-making, these are still in the form of pilot projects run by international agencies who

[100] "Urbanization has already been proceeding into the Ghouta area and even beyond it in some directions along the main radial arteries. The population growth rates during 1994-2004 were the highest in Al Mlaiha in the east in the direction of the international airport, and in Al Kissweh along the main artery to the south" (JICA, 2009b pp. 2-3).

work in partnership with GoD, and participation in its real sense is still not legally incorporated into the planning system. This leads to development plans being isolated from the real picture of local needs. Consequently, informal settlements have spread dramatically within and around the city reflecting such needs - making a strong impact on the development process in the city as a whole in terms of land-use.

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter has given a general idea of the urban development governance context in Syria in terms of defining key actors and their spheres of relationship. In addition, the chapter has highlighted the effect of the UNDP in promoting change into the nature of the society actors towards a more collaborative decision-making process. The chapter then focussed on the city of Damascus in terms of defining key parties affecting urban land-use decision-making. This has been followed by an institutional analysis of urban development organisations in terms of underlying key mental models and demonstrating the organisational structure of urban land-use decision-making to define the input of civil society in the process in its two forms, the formal and informal. In this, the chapter has met the research objective of providing a clear review of the urban development decision-making process in Syria in general and in Damascus, specifically in terms of both defining the key actors; their development mental models; and the resulting organisational structure. This has provided answers to the following research questions:

1.4 What type of governance, state-market-civil society relationship, currently exists in Syria?
2.1 What form of urban development organisation currently exists in Syria?
2.2 What are the civil society participation policies that are encouraged by the UNDP in Syria?
2.3 What participation mechanisms currently exist in Syria in terms of urban development?

Syria has experienced considerable changes within its governance context since 2000. This has taken place in co-operation with UNDP, which has urged the Syrian government to take a new turn in the governance of the country. This is reflected in the

recent 10th FYP (2006-2010) emphasising decentralisation of government, boosting market activities and investment, and finally empowering civil society participation in the development process. A range of legislation has been issued in response to these objectives, as new investment laws have been passed to give more freedom to the private sector and promote international investments into the country in an attempt to increase the national income and compete with the global economy. In addition, a number of new NGOs have been established in order to increase the input of civil society in the development process. These do not only function on the economic or social level but on the development level via capacity building projects for other NGOs and business groups and, most importantly to the focus of this research, working on developing partnerships with state and private parties. This is in planning and implementing development strategies and plans in a way that decreases the state's sphere of power over development decision-making, while increasing the effectiveness of civil society organisations in the national and local development process through a clear legal framework. This new 'participatory' approach is strongly encouraged by the UNDP which is working in cooperation with these development-based organisations to achieve the mentioned goals. In this, an answer to research question 2.2 is provided in this chapter.

Currently, and this is in response to research question 1.4, it can be said that the government in Syria, despite the above, is still seen to be highly centralised, and centralisation is still the dominant characteristic of development governance in the country. This is reflected at the local level in the city of Damascus, as despite the greater leeway given to GoD to handle local decisions and resources, it is still expected to act in accordance with MoLA's will. In addition, although market activities have been boosted in favour of the private sector and investments in the services have increased, these are still highly controlled by the state on one hand and far from meeting local demands, especially of those on low incomes, on the other. Consequently, informal market activities have occurred in the city and these, despite not being legally acknowledged, have a considerable input into the national income and are strongly associated with the formal market and the state's bodies. The civil society on the other hand is considered to be represented by the People's Assembly and a number of organisations which have mostly cultural and environmental functions. These, however, are controlled by central governmental bodies and their sphere of action is limited. This keeps them from

reaching out to all society groups on one hand and from debating key development needs – as these are not included in their action agenda - with the development authorities on the other. Consequently, a wider and more active form of civil society has occurred. This is not formally recognised and represented, yet, it is well established and deeply associated with governmental, private and formal CSOs. This form of civil society is based on kinship and is seen to be very effective on the economic, social and cultural levels.

It is important to note, however, in relation to question 1.4, that the governance context in Syria is set to change as a result of the recent events taking place in the country. These events are accompanied by administrative reforms introduced by the state. This has the potential to change the balance of power among the three society actors and, consequently, their relationships. This will definitely be reflected in the urban development process where changes to the related mental models and organisational forms are expected to take place. Examining these changes is recommended as a part of an agenda for further research addressed in Chapter eight in this thesis.

In response to research question 2.1, the current development governance context in Syria contributes to a highly hierarchical organisational structure of urban development which is basically controlled by state bodies with little input from other society parties. This, however, suffers the effects of a complicated body of legal instruments which have created fragmentation between the different urban planning authorities bodies and even between planning and implementation departments of the GoD itself. This has caused land-use planning to become rapidly out-dated and a forum for conflict in practice.

Urban land-use decision-making is predominantly in the hands of the professionals of the GoD which functions in accordance with central development guidelines. When looking at the land-use decision-making process, when a primary decision is reached by the governorate council, civil society has very limited input during the 30 day right to appeal after the development plan is advertised for three days. Unfortunately, the notice is not well advertised to the public, and it does not cover a sufficient time period with limited media used for this purpose. In the case of decisions needing to be made by REC, representatives of relevant civil society organisations are usually called for the

meeting - here a question of true representation is raised. However, these are not considered main participants and the meeting can be held in their absence. All of this reflects a top-down approach to land-use planning.

Therefore, it is true to say that the formal 'participation' opportunity given to civil society in the land-use decision-making process is not sufficient to make development plans responsive to local needs. Nevertheless, it is relevant to mention here that there are a number of development studies taking place in Damascus city based on participatory approaches. These are, however, in the form of pilot projects run by international agencies and the participatory approach adopted in them is not seen as part of the formal land-use decision-making process. Thus, the informal form of civil society has become a more efficient service delivery system than the formal, as is very clear in the area of land-use where informal settlements have spread widely within and around the city of Damascus and have also become one of the city's main geographical characteristics. In this, and in response to research question 2.3, there are two forms of participation in urban land-use decision-making: formal and informal, with the latter being far more effective in responding to local needs. These two forms of participation are further described in Chapter five, which introduces the case studies which are chosen from the Damascus city context.

The following Chapter four focuses on the chosen methodology for this research and its related data collection and analysis methods. In addition, it gives an overview and justification for the choice of the case studies and their context. Furthermore, the key ethical issues considered in this research and the main limitations which affected its progress are also introduced along with the timeline of the key research tasks.

Chapter four: Research methodology and data collection methods

4.1 Introduction

Social science research is concerned with investigating aspects of human activity and interactivity and usually involves considering many variables "which are often [unlike research in natural sciences] difficult, if not impossible, to control" (Black, 1993 p. 1). Consequently, it is acceptable to employ "a wide variety of measuring instruments, research tools and approaches" which sometimes seem complicated (Black, 1993 p. 1). Therefore, a reference to the wider cultural setting where this takes place is important in order to understand the methodological complexity of social research and its related research paradigms[101] and data collection and analysis methods. This chapter begins by introducing a description of the main science philosophies and research paradigms and their favoured methods. The research is then located within the described research approaches. Furthermore, the data collection and analysis methods used in this research are explained. The chapter then introduces the main ethical considerations taken into account at the time of doing this research, followed by the major challenges and limitations that affected the research process and its outcomes.

4.2 Theoretical considerations

4.2.1 The inductive and deductive views of science

Systematic writing about the philosophy of science can be dated back to Aristotle (384-322 BC) who provided a foundation for speculating about 'the nature of things' and had

[101] Two research paradigms were classified by Cohen and Manion (1989). These are the objectivist (realism, positivism, determinism, nomothetic) and subjectivist (nominalism, anti-positivism, voluntarism, ideographic). These are explained by Cohen and Manion (1989) in (Black, 1993 p. 2) as the following:
"the normative paradigm (or model) contains two major orienting ideas: first, that human behaviour is essentially rule-governed; and second, that it should be investigated by the methods of natural science. The interpretive paradigm, in contrast to its normative counterpart, is characterised by a concern for the individual. Whereas normative studies are positivist, all theories contrasted within the context of interpretive paradigm tend to be anti-positivist". Further discussion of these paradigms is introduced in the following section (4.2.2).

an 'inductive-deductive' view of how we obtain systematic knowledge[102]. He also started the consideration of causality. Looking at the regularities or 'correlations' in observed phenomena, he clearly distinguished between accidental and causal correlations[103] (Burton, 2000 pp. 6-7).

The inductivist view of science, first introduced by Aristotle, was further augmented in the nineteenth century, when the philosophy of science was developed in modern Europe, and further in the twentieth century. John Mill (1806-1873), for example, epitomized the traditional or inductivist view of the scientific method. This holds that science proceeds by collecting factual data through observation and by experimentation in order to increase the data base. Afterwards, generalisation and causal laws can be arrived at by using the indicative methods of agreement, difference, concomitant and variation and residue to analyse the data collected. These laws were considered, in principle, to be completely verified if all the deductions from them were correct, and this, according to Karl Pearson (1892), "sums up the aim and method of modern science". In other words, a crucial part of the indicative view of science is that 'hypothesis follows observation'. Furthermore, it argues that 'we can achieve completely verifiable, true theories' (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000 p. 9).

However, the traditional or inductivist view of science was eventually radically overthrown as neither of its essentials were accepted by most modern philosophers of science. Karl Popper (1959, 1963, 1976, 1979, 1986), for example, was one of those who attacked the inductive theory and sought to establish the hypothetic-deductive view as an alternative. This is mainly based on the notion of, according to Medawar (1969), "we cannot browse over the field of nature like cows at pasture. [Alternatively,] all observations must be for or against some view if it is to be of any service" (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000 p. 9). This means, as Popper (1979) further emphasised, that hypotheses

[102] According to this, we first 'induce' certain regularities in the world around us. For example, we might notice the regularity of plants flowering in springtime; we 'induce' that plants will flower again next spring. This could be made more sophisticated by induced explanatory principles such as the effects of rain and sun on plants (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000 p. 7).

[103] For example, the idea that plants flower and birds sing at the same time of the year is an accidental correlation (neither of these two causes the other to happen. On the other hand, when the wind blows, clouds drift across the sky. This is a causal correlation as the first phenomenon is the cause for the second to happen (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000 p. 7).
As learning was revived during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Latin translations of Aristotle's writings on science became available to European philosophers like Roger Bacon (1214-1292) (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000 p. 7).

come first and observations follow to test these hypotheses and the deductions from them until they are falsified, and that is how science and knowledge progress.

Accordingly, the deductive view has two related points. First, a theory can never be verified in the sense of being proved correct, but it can be falsified and, second, all knowledge is provisional and, furthermore, contested. Therefore, there is no absolute truth, but we can, however, prefer one theory over another - whichever presents a better explanation of nature[104] (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000 p. 11). This illustrates Popper's emphasis on falsification, to which he gave great scientific value, to such an extent that he considered it the 'demarcation criterion' to separate science from non-science and the focus of his debate against the social science theories of psychoanalysis and Marxism[105] (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000 p. 12).

Although Popper's views have become profoundly influential on science as an alternative to inductivist views, they only affected a few areas of social science where there are some traditions that are not easily reconcilable with Popper's deductive views. This was widely debated by ethologists who would acknowledge that "prior hypotheses bias our perceptions", but they would consider this as "a hindrance rather than advantage", as they would argue that "theories should emerge later from immersion in the data" (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000 p. 13). Here, theory testing is not completely rejected; however, concepts and subsequently theories should emerge from analysing qualitative data. In other words, it is of more relevance to social science to use a mixed use approach of inductive-deductive cycle rather than the straightforward deductive view of Popper.

Kuhn (1970), on the other hand, agreed with Popper's ideas that observations should be led by theory and that there is no absolute truth. However, Kuhn did not agree with falsification as a characterizing criterion to distinguish science from non-science. Alternatively, he viewed a mature branch of science as being a problem-solving activity

[104] One dramatic example of the inability of prior confirmation to safeguard a theory against future refutation is Einstein's theories of special and general relativity which replaces Newton's theory. This, though it provided better explanation of nature, does not mean that Einstein had achieved absolute truth, and his theory may be disproved in the future (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000)..

[105] Popper argued that psychoanalytic ideas could be used to explain any social behaviour, yet they could not be falsified and, therefore, could not be considered as science. On the other hand, Popper attacked Marx's theories of capitalism and communism not because they could not be falsified, but because Marx ignored the falsifications which happened (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000).

with an accepted 'paradigm'[106]. In this, Kuhn had a non-rational relativist vision of science that refuses the possibility of having logical grounds to prefer one theory over another. Instead, he saw science as progressing only within a certain social context where certain paradigms are approved (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000). In contrast, Lakatos (1970) emphasised the rational progress of science and the need to have solid ground to decide whether a research programme is progressive or degenerating[107]. Nonetheless, he agreed on the necessity of allowing space for subjectivity in these judgements and the possibility for a progressive programme to become degenerating and vice versa (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000).

This research, however, is viewed within the inductive-deductive cycle, as a number of theories of planning governance and civil society participation in urban development are explained in the theoretical part of the research, and those are examined or 'tested' deductively within the Syrian context. Nonetheless, the qualitative data analysis has led the research to generate a number of sub-concepts and sub-theories related to the understanding and application of civil society participation, about which it is harder to generalise on the universal level of urban development theories and are hence inductive. However, these may be only applicable to similar contexts of urban development governance to that of Syria. Thus, this research programme is seen to be progressive in relation to developing understanding of civil society participation concept within the Syrian urban development institutional context, using both deductive and inductive approaches.

4.2.2 Positivism and relativism in research

The main areas of science; natural and social; are based predominantly on two research paradigms; positivism and relativism. Each has a use of basic beliefs that oppose those of the other. Positivism is the paradigm associated with natural science. Mark (1996 pp. 208-209) stated the basic beliefs of this paradigm which are summarised by Smith (1999 p. 66) as follows:

[106] For further information on the inductive-deductive views of science and the alternatives, see Kuhn (1970) '*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*', Lakatos and Musgrave (1970) '*Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge*' and Laudan (1977) '*Progress and its problems'*.

[107] "A 'progressive' programme anticipates novel facts and produces novel theories, which have 'heuristic power'; changes in the auxiliary hypotheses are progressive. A 'degenerating' programme, by contrast, patches up anomalies in ad hoc ways which do not generalize to other situations; changes in auxiliary hypotheses are unproductive" (Smith, 2000, in Burton, 2000 p. 19).

- there is an objective world that exists independently of our existence or our perception of it; events are determined by natural laws and mechanisms;
- the researcher and the phenomenon being studied are completely independent;
- bias can be avoided by strictly adhering to scientific procedures; and
- to understand the world, standard scientific procedures, based on deduction [usually using abstract quantitative research methods], must be used.

However, positivism has proven to have several shortcomings in the area of social research. This was the main argument of Guba & Lincoln (1989) and Mark (1996), (see Smith, 1999), who saw human interaction to be of great value when investigating a social phenomenon, the effect of which cannot be quantified. Thus, pure generalisations do not exist in abstraction from time and context. Therefore, they both agreed that positivism lacks accuracy in its vision of the world, which is highly related to, first, when and how the questions investigated are asked and, second, to the researcher's experience, judgement and insight. Consequently, positivistic research is limited and of little practical value in social science.

This critique of positivism in the early 1970s (Smith, 1999 drawing from Sokal, et al., 1998) has led to the emergence of relativism – or interpretivism - in research, which is a summing up of the overlapping characteristics of qualitative, naturalistic and constructivist research[108]. According to Mark (1996), summarised by Smith (1999), relativism, in its rejection of positivism, is characterised by a number of characteristics which give the researcher the intuitiveness, flexibility and freedom to move back and forth between theoretical analysis and data collection methods. In this, any method can be used, including subjective sources, to proceed from specific to general and back. Theories generated from this, however, are more difficult to generalise on a universal level, as researchers using this approach do not assume the existence of an objective and independent world. Nonetheless, the focus of relativism is on the outcomes which are usually complex and rich and aim to enhance our general knowledge about complex events and processes.

[108] 'Constructivist' research is more radical in its denial of the existence of the objective world and its belief that research results only exist due to the observed/observer interaction. The methodological result of these beliefs in this approach is the use of a hermeneutic/dialectic process (Smith, 1999 p. 67, drawing from Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

Positivist and relativist approaches are frequently believed to be incompatible as research strategies and ways of understanding the world (Roth & Mehta, 2002). These differences are summarised by Livesey (2006) in Figure A4-3 shown in Appendix 4-1.

This strong contrast between positivism and relativism has been intensely debated in recent social research literature. However, social researchers tend to use a mixture of methods from the two extremes. This is seen by Roth & Mehta (2002) to contribute to a more relevant research results, as more sufficient information can be collected.

> *"..., not only may versions of positivism and interpretivism be combined in the analysis of contested events, but this combination can further the goals of both approaches by contributing information that may have been missed by adopting only one perspective."*
>
> (Roth, et al., 2002 p. Abstract)

This was complemented by Kulkarni & Rajan (1991) who argued that "..., it is accepted that social scientific theories do indeed require this two-fold articulation" (Kulkarni & Rajan, 1991 p. 101 in Smith, 1999 p. 68). In other words, any social phenomenon should be considered from both the positivist/objective and the relativist/subjective points of view.

Thus, this research adapts this two-fold articulation in its approach and choice of data collection methods. This is due to the highly contested nature of this research questions and the researcher's belief in the possible existence of an objective reality in relation to basic explanations of nature[109], especially in the connection between reality and its context. In other words, positivist, or rather rational[110], work in this research contributes to the identification of general patterns of planning governance and civil society participation, while the relativist contribution concerns exploring how these patterns function in practice within a certain context, which is Syria in this research, through the analysis of the empirical data collected. Therefore, the research methods are a mixture

[109] For example, water boils when heated up to a certain temperature and under certain pressure. This is with awareness that "truth" is progressive and can be overthrown by a more valid one which presents a better explanation of nature.

[110] "The dispute between rationalism and empiricism concerns the extent to which we are dependent upon sense experience in our effort to gain knowledge" (SEP, 2008).

of quantitative and qualitative with the predominance of the latter. The meanings of these methodological approaches are further explained in the following section.

4.2.3 Quantitative and qualitative research methods

Since the Enlightenment[111], deductive quantitative research has been the foundation of the advancement of natural science. This basically relies on objectivity in observations, statistical analysis tools and on the numerical measurement of indicators (Smith, 1999). This was criticized by the constructive view of knowledge especially in relation to social research where "perception, memory, emotion and understanding are human constructs, not objective things. Yet, this construction is not a chaotic process because it takes place within cultural and sub-cultural settings that provide a strong framework for extracting meaning" (McClelland, 2006 p. 8). Therefore, qualitative research methods were introduced in 1920s and 1930s in the areas of sociology and anthropology (Mark, 1996).

Qualitative methods are understood to produce accounts of human thoughts, feelings and actions, recognizing that those accounts do not apply to all people and that they do not allow predictions to be made in the way that they are in the positivist natural sciences. This argument was emphasised by Rubin & Rubin (1995) who characterised qualitative research to be "not looking for principles that are true all the time and in all conditions, like laws of physics; rather the goal is understanding of specific circumstances, how and why things actually happen in a complex world" (Rubin, et al., 1995 p. 38).

Qualitative research methods are understood to overcome the shortcomings of the quantitative ones in relation to social science. This is due to the difficulty of measuring the outcomes of qualitative objectives and outcomes of, for example, the social development projects and programmes funded by international agencies, where neither quantitative nor qualitative measurements are sufficient to give accurate evaluation (Smith, 1999 pp. 69-70). For example, Family Health International (fhi, 2010) introduced an overview of the differences between quantitative and qualitative research

[111] Dorinda Outram provides a good example of a standard, intellectual definition of the Enlightenment as being "a desire for human affairs to be guided by rationality rather than by faith, superstition, or revelation; a belief in the power of human reason to change society and liberate the individual from the restraints of custom or arbitrary authority; all backed up by a world view increasingly validated by science rather than by religion or tradition" (Outram, 1995 p. 3).

approaches. This was an attempt to provide basic knowledge for those involved in proceeding with its development programmes towards the design of proper research methods that can respond to their objectives. Table A4-2 in Appendix 4-2 illustrates the difference between the two approaches in relation to their general framework, analytical objectives, question format, data format and flexibility in study design. It is clear that each approach has several benefits, yet also shortcomings, when considered abstractly, at least in relation to the purpose of this research.

Therefore, it is acceptable to say that both quantitative and qualitative research methods, when considered solely (when confusing data as ends where the emphasis is on data format rather than its outcome and contribution to understanding) have shortcomings in relation to understanding research questions. This raised the consideration of the dichotomy of these two approaches to be false (Smith, 1999). Consequently, there has been "a marked shift away from the dominance of quantitative and experimental methods toward a paradigm of choices emphasising multiple methods, both qualitative and quantitative, and matching evaluation methods to specific evaluation situations and stakeholder questions" (Patton, 1987 p. 18, in Smith, 1999 p. 70). In this, Oakley (1990) suggests that the results of social research can be considered quantitative while the processes are qualitative. In other words, a combination of two types of data collection and analysis methods can be considered when studying a social phenomenon.

> *"Conventional evaluation is dominated by a concern to measure; but how can we 'measure' qualitative change?... Concepts of social development such as, for example, participation are difficult to define solely in specific, quantifiable terms... We need an approach to evaluation, therefore, which is not based exclusively on the measurement of material outcomes, but which is able to explain what happens in a social development project which seeks to promote the kinds of objectives we have seen."*
>
> (Oakley, 1990 p. 31, in Smith, 1999 p. 70)

This research, therefore, uses a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis methods (these are described further below), and locates itself within an approach that seeks to achieve proximity to a widely tested understanding of civil society participation in urban development decision-making in Syria. This is through a

combination of perceptions and theoretical constructions of relevant issues to the urban development governance context and the institutional structure of land-use decision-making procedures. Quantitative measures are used to examine the gathered material outcomes in terms of illustrating the general concepts of 'planning governance', 'civil society' and 'participation'. These, however, are qualitatively defined concepts in relevance to the research context. Quantitative secondary data is further employed via the literature review to describe the case studies' contexts. On the other hand, qualitative primary data is used to understand the process of development decision-making in Syria in relation to civil society participation in urban development. These data were gathered using field work where interviewing and observation took place. A detailed explanation of primary and secondary data collection methods used in this research and their contributions are introduced later in this chapter, and data analysis methods are also explained in later on in this chapter.

4.3 Case study research

4.3.1 Overview

The research adopts a traditional case study analysis approach, where specific information is discussed and analysed with reference to a more general analytical framework. Although this methodology is not new, it is useful for providing a qualitative, in-depth analysis and is very important in the area of social studies (Bryman, 1989; Gomm, et al., 2000).

The case study approach is aimed to be an effective way to deliver the research objectives, especially in relation to Syria where there is limited research and data available, including data on civil society participation in urban development. So, unlike surveys and experimental research, the case study approach is not only concerned with collecting limited data about many cases or dealing with closely controlled variables. On the contrary, case study research contributes to the understanding of circumstances and providing answers to the questions of who the actors are and how things are happening within their complex context, which is a reflection of uncontrolled and sometimes unexpected naturally occurring social relations (Gomm, et al., 2000; Rubin, et al., 1995). In other words, this approach is usually an observational one where

opportunities are available to record complex events and the interaction of numerous variables over a period of time (Black, 1993, drawing from Cohen & Manion, 1989).

However, the case study approach has been criticized for being poorly planned. Besides, case studies are unable to be generalised to larger groups. This makes case studies to be an inadequate way of fully and exclusively testing hypotheses, yet valuable as a source of new hypotheses formulation where it is possible to identify and suggest new relationships (Black, 1993, drawing from Blum & Foos, 1986).

However, this approach is suitable for the purpose of this research, as it aims to examine the process of civil society participation in urban development in terms of land use. The research does not suggest new international urban development theories, yet examines the relationships among the social spheres of the state, the market and civil society in Syria and suggests new forms of relationships that are thought to promote a more positive experience of civil society participation. This requires in-depth analysis of chosen urban development case studies where related interactions among these spheres take place and a participation process does, or is expected to, take place. In this, the author is aware of the limited possibilities for universally generalising the research findings and outcomes. Nonetheless, this approach is helpful in enhancing the understanding of civil society participation process in Syria and its potential development within similar urban development institutional contexts.

4.3.2 Choice of case studies

Independently of any personal connection to Syria in terms of it being the author's native country, it provides an interesting governance context. This is because of the many historical challenges it faced, from being a French colony till 1946 to becoming a socialist country[112] from 1970 until the present day, when it is trying to adapt to the principles of social democracy in its governance. Besides, Syria is experiencing a huge economic transformation towards establishing a social-market economy which adopts the policies of free market economy in order to cope with global economic competition (SPC, 2005).

[112] This is when the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Ba'ath Party) became the leader of the state. It is a secularist Arab nationalist political party opposed to imperialism and calling for the "renaissance" or "resurrection" of the Arab World and its unity in one united state (BASP, 2010). The party was founded in Damascus, Syria in 1940.

Most importantly, and with a great influence by the UNDP, Syria is trying to establish what is called 'good governance'[113] in order to deliver potentially sustainable development. This is, basically, associated with decentralisation of power among social forces (from the state to the market and civil society) in order to make development decisions a shared outcome of these forces' mutual interests (SPC, 2005). This is where the concept of civil society participation in development decision making is highly stressed. This makes the contribution of this research very important because:

- the concepts 'civil society' and 'participation' are introduced by outside agencies (UN) and are not, at least yet, a result of the historical changes in social development that have taken place in Syria;
- the concept of 'civil society participation in urban development' has not fully developed in Syria in the way it has in the North, where most participation and planning governance theories come from; and
- there is a lack of the capacity typically needed to take these concepts on board in planning in terms of policy and implementation (planning education and planning organisational structure).

The research seeks to understand the above concepts by concentrating on the area of urban development in terms of land use. Therefore, the city of Damascus has been chosen as an area for field work. This is because it is experiencing rapid urbanisation[114] and is more likely to be targeted by most forms of urban development that take place in the country as it is the capital and the largest, most populated city in Syria[115]. The institutional structure of urban development decision-making in Damascus is similar to other administrative areas in the country, apart from some minor differences that can be attributed to the size or type of the area, whether it is a city or a village, and these differences are not seen to affect the main focus of this research. This similarity is due to the hierarchical development institutional structures and planning decision-making

[113] The UNESCAP has defined 'good governance' as having 8 major characteristics. "It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society" (UNESCAP, 2010).
[114] This is explained in detail in the previous Chapter three.
[115] According to the Central Bureau of Statistics 2007, Damascus has a population of 1.669 million with a growth rate of 2.8% (SCFA, 2008).

processes where development plans are designed on the national level and then distributed to local authorities to take action and design their local development plans accordingly. Therefore, the case study's analysis results are applicable to other administrative areas in the country, despite the fact that Damascus is quite a unique context as a capital city.

Nonetheless, the author does not claim that Damascus as a context for the chosen case studies is universally representative, however, it is believed to be an acceptable example to understand civil society participation process in urban development within similar contexts of planning governance where the state is known to have considerable power over the functioning of market and civil society organisations. Furthermore, illustrating the relationships among the social forces in Damascus and their institutional structure in terms of land-use decision-making is believed to be helpful in generating a better understanding of such relations in similar contexts in areas that experience similar economic and social transitions under the effect of the UNDP.

Thus, a detailed analysis of planning governance in terms of land use of Syria in general and Damascus specifically was introduced in Chapter three. This aims to give an understanding of the relationships among the three forces of the Syrian society (the state, the market and civil society) and to examine the urban development institutional context of the research case studies. This analysis is undertaken with reference to an analytical framework introduced in Chapter two (see Figure 2-6).

Chapter five introduces the two land use urban development case studies which have been chosen within the city of Damascus. The first is the Damascus tram route development, which is on **a macro level** and is adopting some form of community participation in its related decisions. This case study analysis aims to understand the **top-down organisation of participation of civil society** in urban development decision-making, as the development plans have been set by related planning authorities, then the targeted community is informed of them and this is where the community is asked to participate.

The second case study is at the **micro level**, and for this, the area of the Qassyoon informal housing regeneration development has been chosen. Here, the need for land-

use development was raised by the community in the first place due to a geological concern in the area, and the planning authorities were later informed of this. They are expected to respond to this concern and provide a proper development that serves the community needs. The aim of this case study analysis is to understand and test the **bottom-up organisation of civil society participation** in urban development decision making.

This analysis of the top-down and bottom-up participation processes provides a deep understanding of the role of civil society in urban development decision-making in terms of land use within the urban development institutional context in Syria. This is because they help us to understand the urban development organisational forms and the position of civil society participation within these in terms of the mechanisms provided and their efficiency, and this contributes to testing the areas of strength and weakness in that relation and further helps to establish the research recommendations of how to make the role of civil society in urban development decision-making more efficient in order to deliver potentially sustainable urban developments.

4.4 Primary and secondary data collection methods

Data collection methods used in this research are literature review, interviewing, focus groups, programme observation and triangulation of data and information. A summary of these methods and their contributions in terms of the type of data collected and its purpose is introduced in Table A4-2 in Appendix 4-3.

4.4.1 Literature review

> *"The investigator who is well versed in literature now has a set of expectations that the data [collected by other methods] can deny... It is, however, true that preconceptions can be the enemy of qualitative research... but the benefits of the 'preconceptions' that spring from literature review are, perhaps, much greater than their costs."*
>
> (McCracken, 1998 p. 31)

The literature review method has been used to collect secondary data related to this research, specifically to answer the first and second objectives' questions. Academic literature has been reviewed to clarify the meaning of the main research concepts of, most importantly, planning governance, civil society, participation and development institutions, and to finalise the research theoretical framework. The literature review carried out for this purpose has not been excessively undertaken for each of these concepts in the abstract but in the areas where they overlap and to the extent that serves the research aim and objectives. The literature reviewed for this was sufficiently available in UK libraries and international agency publications.

A further literature review of the Syrian governance, development plans and urban development laws and policies[116] has been undertaken. This is to provide background information on Syria, its governance context and its urban development institutions in terms of both the mental models and organisational forms on one hand, and to examine the evolution of the concept of 'civil society participation' within this context on the other. Some of the materials for this were available in English in international agency publications, and in research reports and papers prepared by the foreign study parties involved in development projects in Syria. Others were available in Arabic and are in relation to Syrian national development plans and urban development laws and regulations which have been carefully reviewed in order to understand the development organisational structure and its main forces within the Syrian context, and these were obtained from the planning authorities' websites and archives. However, these materials were not sufficient to clarify the Syrian urban planning governance context. Therefore, further Arabic literature has been sought during the first field trip to Damascus when visits to the national and specialised libraries were carried out and contacts with some of the main informants were maintained.

Nonetheless, Syrian materials on the Syrian urban development context were extremely limited and ranged from a few well referenced reports, textbooks, academic articles and conference papers of macro-level perspectives on history, development, community development, urban issues and housing in Syria in general and, sometimes, Damascus in particular, to the grey literature of project reports, project information handouts, news articles and community workshop memos. These materials were, however, patchy and

[116] A summarised review of urban planning laws is presented in Appendix A3-12.

had to be supplemented mostly through informal interviews held throughout the second field trip with members of the planning authorities, professionals, academics and NGOs. Table A4-3 in Appendix 4-4 provides a list of the sources and the types of materials which advanced understanding of the Syrian urban development context.

In relation to the case studies, only a few properly referenced materials were found, whilst the rest, which are still extremely limited, are grey materials. These are in the form of study project information handouts, community questionnaires, academic model presentations and study maps. These were also extremely patchy and were collected during informal conversations with members from the local offices of the planning authorities. Therefore, a number of primary data collection methods were used to fill this huge gap in information, in relation to both the Syrian urban development context and the case studies of civil society participation, needed to answer the research questions. Herein lies the importance of this research as an essential contribution to knowledge in planning governance in Syria in relation to civil society participation in urban development. These methods are explained in the following sections.

4.4.2 Interviewing

The goal of the interviews is to set an "understanding of specific circumstances, how and why things actually happen in a complex world". This is because "knowledge in qualitative interviewing is situational and conditional." (Rubin, et al., 1995 p. 38). However, data collected using this method are usually in the form of complex stories, images and descriptions, and cannot easily be put into simplified categories as this method simply involves "asking open-ended questions... in order to solve [or rather understand] problems" (Patton, 1990 p. 89).

The data collected by using this method cannot be tested, as it depends on what people say. Thus, findings have to be taken on trust, the matter that forces the analysis of the data to take a post-modern[117] approach which enables the answers collected to have

[117] Postmodernism is an important movement that flourished in the later quarter of the twentieth century and has influenced many cultural fields, including literary criticism, visual arts, sociology, linguistics, architecture, and music. It is characterized by the rejection of objective truth and global cultural narrative. It emphasizes the role of language, power relations, and motivations; in particular it attacks the use of sharp classifications such as male versus female, straight versus gay, white versus black, and imperial versus colonial. Postmodernism opposes modernism which is associated with the enlightenment and concerns certainty, mechanisation and rationalisation. While postmodernism celebrates individuality, depthlessness, multiplicity, uncertainty and fragmentation (Gregory et al, 2009 pp. 566-567).

several meanings depending on the knowledge and experience of the researcher. This is emphasized in Arksey and Knight's following argument and further explained in Positionality and reflexivity in sub-section 4.6.2.

> *"In essence, postmodernism emphasizes the diversity of meanings and their fluidity, and also insists that all accounts are not only created by their writer but also that all writings are interpreted by the reader, and not necessarily in the way the author intended. In short, the idea of a reality to be discovered is denied. There are just creations [or anticipations]."*
>
> (Arksey, et al., 1999 p. 14)

Interviewing methods used in this research have taken different forms. These are informal interviews, semi-structured interviews and focus groups. **Informal interviews** allow the researcher to have an open conversation with the participant who may be left with the impression that the interview was nothing but an interesting and stimulating conversation (Robertson, et al., 2004). This form of interview does not have any sequence of questions to follow, but the researcher has to keep his/her key question in mind and try to approach it from different directions while conducting relevant, and sometimes not so relevant, information from the participant. This is not considered to be easy but requires considerable skills and understanding of subject matter (Weber, 2007, drawing from Robertson and Dearling, 2004). However, informal interviews are very open to bias and data collected in this method is far from structured. Therefore, information gathered using this method has been triangulated by data collected using other methods in order to reduce bias[118] (Weber, 2007).

Informal interviews[119] in this research have been used widely in the form of informal conversations with urban development authorities', NGOs and community group representatives and private sector members. This mainly took place in the first stage of field work during the initial field trip to Damascus in March 2009, where general information was collected in order to widen and deepen the understanding of the urban development governance context. Besides, this has helped to collect general information

[118] The meaning of this is further explained in sub-section 4.4.4 later on in this chapter.
[119] A list of those who participated in this form of interviewing is provided in Table A4-4 in Appendix 4-5.

on relatively recent developments in Damascus and the parties involved in their decisions. Notes were taken during these interviews, and the gray materials related to the case studies were often obtained from the participants during these conversations as described in sub-section 4.4.1. This contributed to clarifying the choice of the case studies which would be appropriate for the purpose of this research.

Semi-structured interviews have also been used. These were guided by certain questions decided prior to the interview, yet they were more open than a structured interview or a questionnaire. These were used with the same type of participants mentioned before but with more structured questions and with time limits for the interviews, yet, they provided the possibility to expand on related issues which arose during the conversation (Walliman, 2005). Although information obtained from the participants using this method was more structured than that gathered from the informal interviews, it still needed to be triangulated with information gathered by other research methods used in this research (Weber, 2007, drawing from Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

The questions for this type of interviews are listed in Appendix 4-6. An English version of the questions was used with participants from international agencies and foreign study partners while a translated version in Arabic was used with Syrian participants. A total of 20 participants were interviewed during the second field trip in March-April 2010. Those are from a variety of institutions that can be considered as samples of the society's three main spheres (the state, the market and the civil society)[120]. Only eight of

[120] In this, the researcher identified a small number of interviewees within the state and private sector spheres. This was based on previous knowledge of their position in the state's planning authorities, and previous business or personal relationships with members in the private sector sphere. A snow ball sampling method was used afterwards to reach out to further interviewees from all three spheres, the state, the private sector and the civil society, who were recommended to achieve the research purpose. Members from international agencies and foreign study parties were contacted directly using contact information available on their websites, and information sectors within these organisations introduced the author to the interviewees thought to be informed of the research investigation areas. The interviewees from the state sphere are more numerous than those from the other two spheres (12 from the state, 4 from the private sector and 4 from the civil society sphere). This is because in this research, the state sphere is seen to include the academic body and the international agencies (as the state partners). In addition, the interviewees in this sphere have been chosen from different levels of urban development authorities; local and national; and this diversity is very limited, at least within the area of land use, in the private sector and civil society spheres in Damascus. Therefore, despite the difference in the interviewees numbers, it is still acceptable to say that balanced samples have been chosen from the three social forces spheres. The author does not claim that these samples are representative of all the targeted spheres, however, it is thought to be sufficient to deliver a wider understanding of the urban development context in Damascus and the civil society participation process within it. Besides, data derived from these interviews has been triangulated with data from other sources (focus groups, observations and literature), and this has supported the interviews' material with further evidence to make the research findings more verifiable.

these agreed to have their interviews digitally recorded, whilst the rest agreed to notes being taken during the conversations with them[121]. A list of these interviews is provided in Table A4-5 in Appendix 4-5. Information obtained using this method is mainly in relation to understanding of 'civil society' and 'participation' concepts in the Syrian urban development context and the understanding of the Syrian planning governance institutional relations. Furthermore, the data obtained clarifies civil society participation issues related to the chosen case studies for this research.

A **Focus group** is "a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment" (Bernard, 2000 in Burton, 2000 p. 175, drawing from Krueger, 1988 p. 18). Those participants in the focus group can be from a cross-section of the population or they may be homogeneous (Walliman, 2005). The major advantage of using focus groups is that it allows the researcher to obtain information from a large number of participants in a short period of time. Besides, it enables the researcher to discover the connection between individual conditions and social positions through the observation of the interaction between the participants and their response to the discussion topics (Bernard, 2000 in Burton, 2000). There are, however, a few disadvantages of using focus groups as there is potential for some participants to influence the others or to dominate the discussion. Besides, the researcher has less control of the discussion (Weber, 2007 and Bernard, 2000 in Burton, 2000). Therefore, it is essential for data obtained using this method to be triangulated with those obtained using other methods (Arksey, et al., 1999).

Despite the fact that the focus group method was not planned prior to the second field trip in March-April 2010, opportunities to carry out this form of interviews occurred unexpectedly while carrying out the semi-structured interviews. Therefore, the researcher has carried out a review of some literature in relation to this method during the field trip to be prepared in case. Using focus groups proved to be of real value in this research, as it has helped to obtain further data in relation to the research focus and from

[121] This is due to the sensitivity of the areas investigated, as the concept of 'civil society' is still underdeveloped in Syria and the only understanding of it is to be opposing the state. Therefore, most interviewees were very aware of their interests when responding to the interview questions and some preferred to stay anonymous and for their responses not to be recorded in order to avoid any consequences of the recorded materials being stolen and used for other purposes, and in accordance with this research ethics, the author granted the interviewees their wish. This however, has caused some challenges for the researcher to capture the full exact responses, and made quoting from these participants difficult in the analysis chapters of this research.

a larger number of participants. Besides, the focus groups have served as a useful function in data triangulation, which helped to test the research data and provide further reliability in relation to its representativeness and generalisability (albeit within Syrian context). Therefore, two focus groups were held during the second field trip to Damascus. The first was digitally recorded while only notes were taken during the other due to the participants' request.

The two focus groups are described in summary in Table A4-6 in Appendix 4-5. The first focus group consisted of 23 participants. The researcher had no previous knowledge of the participants. Therefore, invitations to the discussion session were distributed with the assistance of Atfeh, the MSc in Urban planning course leader. The participants were homogeneous in terms of their profession and educational background, yet diverse in terms of their practical experience in positions in planning bodies and social spheres. The participants were a collection of members from national and local planning authorities, private sector parties and the professional community. These form the students of a class of the MSc in Urban Planning (in cooperation with Marne-la-Vallée University/ France)[122].

The same key questions used for the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 4-6) were used for this focus group, as the purpose is not to have different information but a different and diverse source to boost data triangulation and add reliability to the research findings. The discussion lasted for 1.5 hours in the Faculty of Architecture in Damascus. The researcher did not seek to influence the discussion, but had to keep the discussion focussed at some points when participants went off on a tangent that was not of relevance to the main areas of the discussion. The information obtained by this method is similar to that obtained from the semi-structured interviews.

[122] Hand outs were given out to the participants to inform them of the purpose of the discussion and the key issues which needed to be discussed. The researcher gave an informal presentation on a few aspects of participation prior to the discussion, such as participation history, definitions, levels and monitoring approaches. This was to create a relaxed atmosphere with the participants and to get to know them before asking them to get involved in the discussion. The researcher provided refreshments during the discussion to encourage the participants to be relaxed and open to talk.

The second focus group consisted of 4 participants[123]. The participants are members of the Syrian-German Development Cooperation (GIZ, DED and CIM) and included an expert in community participation (CIM), UDP programme advisor (DED), a foreign expert (CIM) and a local expert (GIZ). This discussion took place in the GIZ office in Old Damascus directorate and lasted for one hour. This focus group was easier to manage due to the small number of participants. In addition, all participants joined in the discussion and had the chance to respond openly.

Data gathered from this focus group was of similar relevance as explained previously. On the other hand, the participants had a limited knowledge of the case studies as the institutions they work for are not involved in their developments. Nonetheless, more detailed information on civil society participation concepts and their involvements within the research context was collected due to participants being experts or involved in this area of urban development management through the projects they are working on in Damascus and other areas in Syria.

4.4.3 Programme observation

Observational techniques are considered to be "an important aspect of many action research studies and of case studies whether undertaken by participants or outsiders" and are usually used for programme evaluation through observing human behaviour (Alevizos, 1978 p. 224, drawing from Johnson & Bolstad, 1973; Kahn, 1975) and, consequently, "come to conclusions based on our observation, to generate explanations and understandings and even to come up with predictions" (Hannan, 2006).

Thus, observation is considered to be an important method of data collection to complement the semi-structured interviews. In this, the researcher adopts the direct observation method as an outsider and carries out observations within the interpretive perspective of social behaviour. This is for the purpose of programme evaluation of urban development governance and civil society participation in terms of both concept evaluation and space for application within the development institutional context in Syria. There has been, however, a challenge that the presence of the observer might have influenced the programme participants' behaviour. Therefore, the researcher, first,

[123] One of these was met by the researcher during the workshop in GoD (this is further explained in sub-section 4.4.3) at an earlier stage of the field trip, and is the one helped to invite the participants to the focus group at the request of the researcher.

tried to 'go native'[124] rather than 'keeping a distance' while the observed events took place and, second, a recording device was used only when it was felt that no potential threat to transparency of actions could have been caused by its usage. Alternatively, written notes were taken along with any available grey literature made available during the observed event.

Two observation opportunities occurred during the second field trip to Damascus (see Table A4-7 in Appendix 4-5). The first was a 3-day workshop in GoD[125]. This was to present, discuss and evaluate the suggested strategic development plans for the Damascus region and its surroundings. The workshop was an opportunity for the different study parties to present their work and for the different stakeholders to discuss their questions and concerns with the study parties. This workshop was intended to be followed by a plan amendment period before being approved by the related planning authorities.

Observation in this was of the stakeholders' input in the proposed studies and of the nature of the discussion that followed each presentation. Information derived from this is related to exploring the effect different stakeholders (especially civil society) have on urban development decision-making. Furthermore, the observation contributes, to an extent, to the understanding of the mental models and the organisational structure of urban development decision making institutions.

The second observation was of the second of three workshops held for the local community in the case of Al-Qanawat south area development. This was to present the outcomes of the first workshop and the questionnaire distributed among the community at an earlier stage (a copy of this is available as Appendix 4-7) and the effect of those on the process of the development plan studies. In addition, the workshop provided fewer

[124] The observation carried out for this research is an outsider's observation. However, there was a fear that the author's presence may have affected the behaviour of the participants so they would be reluctant to express their thoughts. This caused the author to attend as an invitee to the event, and this was known to only a limited number of people in there (these are from the academic sphere attending the GoD workshop - and the JICA study party in the Qanawat workshop - and those are the parties who granted access for the author to these events). Therefore the author's presence did not affect the transparency of the discussion held during the events. This may have minimally compromised the research ethics as there was no time available to introduce the author or discuss the observation purpose with all the participants. Nonetheless, the author kept the identity of the participants anonymous and only referred to the number of participants and the purpose of the observed events and reflected on the nature of the discussions which took place during them.

[125] Governorate of Damascus.

opportunities for further suggestions from participants compared to the first one (according to the study party JICA). Data derived from the observation focuses on the process of local community participation in the process of taking rehabilitation decisions for the area of Al-Qanawat south in terms of the information and feedback provided, community representation in the workshop and community understanding of and attitudes to participation and their reasons. However, observation analysis was not processed as it was in the case of the semi-structured interviews, as the observations did not emphasise, or directly relate to, the areas investigated in the interviews. Nonetheless, observation outcomes helped to further emphasise the interview findings and assisted the author's understanding of the organisational structure of urban development, and this is mentioned where relevant.

4.4.4 Triangulation of data and information

Triangulation of data and information method is used when collecting and analysing data (this is shown in chapters six and seven of the data analysis). Burns (2000 p. 419) defines triangulation as "the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour". This method has helped to view data from more than one perspective (e.g. triangulating interview findings with observations) and this has contributed to understanding its complexity, even combining quantitative and qualitative methods in some cases (e.g. the use of literature review and interviews as suggested for this research). This has helped to avoid the potential of distorting the picture of the aspects intended to be investigated in this research (Burns, 2000). Although this does not assume the automatic production of a more complete picture of reality (Silverman, 2000: 99), triangulation has been useful for this research. This is because the author experienced a great limitation of information availability especially in relation to what is 'public' and participation. Therefore, as it has been possible to derive material from different sources, triangulation of data is probably the only way to analyse a diverse, yet sometimes patchy, data. Further limitations are addressed under research challenges and limitations in section 4.8 below.

4.5 Primary data analysis methods

A workable analysis was developed and applied to the semi-structured interviews received from the 20 participants from the three different society spheres - the state, the private sector and civil society (see these in Appendix 4-5). In this, several considerations have been taken into account. This paradigm consists of several stages. These are illustrated in summary in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1: Qualitative data analysis process

Stage	**Stage components**	**Purpose**
Open coding	Categorising data through the use of codes which are inclusive, indigenous and grounded in theory.	Identifying key points (actors and relationships) in data
Concepts formation	Comparing codes and abstraction of data dimensions and properties	Collecting codes of similar content to group data
Themes induction	Defining related properties and inducting key patterns or groups of populations or events.	Gathering the concepts that present the properties and dimensions of a particular typology of a theme
Theoretical sampling	Examining the themes arrived at in relation to theory to position findings within the wider related literature	Collecting theoretical explanations of the research themes

Source: The author[126]

First, an open coding[127] process was carried out. In this, the responses for each of the interview questions were transcribed and closely studied and categorised into codes in order to label key issues that are related to the research concern and main concepts. The codes used for this were indigenous (Gilbert, 1993) or, in other words, sociologically constructed (Strauss, 1987). Here, the code names were decided from the data provided by the interviewees. For example, when coding the state's capacity, the code names used (institutional, training, gate keeping or culture change, fund) were derived from responses to the question rather than being decided a priori (see Table 0-2 for further details). However, in the case of the codes that carry a value (strong, fair or weak) as in

[126] This has been developed using the process descriptions in Cassell, et al. (2004); Gilbert (1993); Harvey (2005); (Strauss, et al. (1990); Miles, et al. (1994); Strauss, et al. (2008); and Spiggle (1994).

[127] Open coding is the basic initial type of coding done during a qualitative research project. In this, coding takes place while studying the collected material closely using simple, and usually native, terms to label responses. This process is usually carried out several times on the same material until the analyst makes sure that nothing new is found. This usually happens when repetition starts to occur. Open coding is helpful to transform open responses (like interviews) into survey - like responses, which helps to quantify data and derive main research themes. For further details on this type of coding (Strauss, 1987; Gilbert, 1993; Cassell, et al., 2004).

the case of coding the perception of civil society in question one, those were developed from the literature reviewed in Chapter two. In this case, the definition of the concept was the standard to weigh the responses against (see Appendix 4-8 for further details).

Nonetheless, despite using indigenous coding derived from the interviewees, this is "grounded" in both sources of data, the experiential data and the technical literature which the analyst brings into the inquiry. This grounding, or conceptual stepping back into literature, is to help the author to get away from too literal an immersion in the materials and into "thinking in terms of explicit concepts and their relationships" (Strauss, 1987 p. 29).

This conceptual stepping back was most widely used with coding responses from the private sector or civil society spheres due to the fact that these informants are, in most cases, not specialists in the field of urban development and not familiar with the common related technical terms. On the other hand, it was more limited in relation to responses from the state's sphere, as most informants here are specialists and, in some cases, have majored in urban studies. This is despite some of the research terms reflected in the interview questions being new to some of them, such as "civil society" and "participation". For example, the following is a quote from a recorded interview[128] with the vice director of the planning and urban development directorate in the GoD. This person was considered a key informant from the state sphere. The underlined part of the quote holds the content of the code and the bold part is the one the code name has been derived from. It is obvious that in this case the informant, being from the state sphere and well informed of urban development concepts, has used the exact concepts used to name the codes shown in the boxes on the left of the code.

State's organisational needs ←

Civil society's organisational needs ←

*Al Hajj: "<u>There should be some form of organisations</u> which can be the mediator between the state and the public... these are not only local community organisations but **<u>mediating organisations</u>**. [...] today there are a few projects to facilitate that like the MAM project. [...] they are offering a service to, as far as possible, fulfil public expectations on*

[128] A list of all the interviewees and the dates of their interviews is in Appendix 4-5.

one hand and deliver the urban development the state asks for on the other".

State's culture change needs

Al Hajj: " .... This, however, does not eliminate the fact that the state urban development bodies still don't accept another opinion, there is still a kind of possession and tenaciousness. There is a need for ***cultural change****".*

(translated from Arabic recorded interview held on 11/04/10)

The following are quotes from the interviews of two informers from the private sector. The first is a developer and investor in real estate while the second is an architect who is involved in a number of studies and designs for residential and retail developments for private clients. The quotes chosen are to show data of the same content as in the example above and the same strategy of illustration is followed. Here, however, it is clear that the expressions in bold used by the informants here, being unfamiliar with the related academic concepts despite being involved in the field of urban development, have been stepped back into literature to produce theoretical codes for the purpose of the research.

State's gate keeping strategy/ State's culture change needs

Not to be named M.O: The state does have the needed equipments, and these are quite strong, for this, but ***there is no impartial management or will*** *to facilitate participation.*

(translated from Arabic interview notes held on 22/04/10)

Civil society's organisational needs

Not to be named M.S: "It needs a little time for ***proper civil society organisations*** *to be facilitated and for the citizens to understand the importance of these organisations and the need to be a member of them in order for their voice to reach the table of decision-making rather than standing alone with fewer chances of doing so".*

State's organisational needs ←

*Not to be named M.S: "....as there is a media office in every ministry, there should be an office, **participation directorate**, to carry out participation-related tasks and to be responsible for forming committees at random from the members of the public who are targeted by a certain development".*

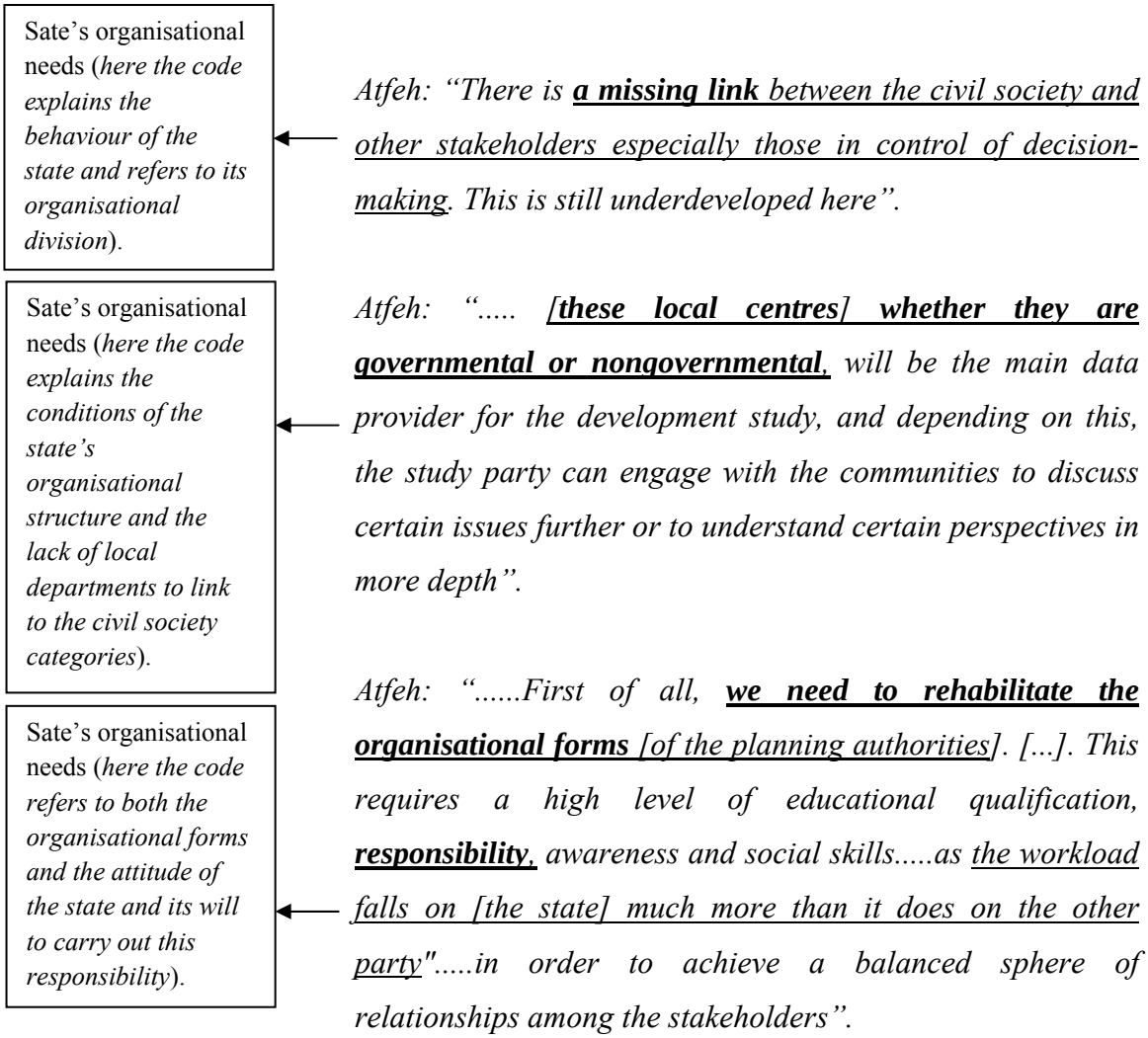
(translated from Arabic recorded interview held on 28/03/10)

Thus, grounding codes have made them more suitable "to reflect meaning and depth" rather than "automated categorization found through content analysis" (Burton, 2000 p. 233). This "conceptual stepping back" has been crucial in order to "develop theoretical understanding and theories about the phenomena reflected in the data" (Strauss, 1987 p. 29) and discussed in the researched themes of urban development: key actors and institutional analysis. These are also the two components of the research analytical framework shown in Figure 2-6 and used at a subsequent stage of data analysis. The validity of codes used for this research is assured not only via conceptual stepping back but also through discussions with the author's supervisors who are specialists in this field of research.

An additional characteristic of the codes used is their inclusive nature. In this, these codes are to link two or more strands of information together. To be more explicit, the codes used describe interactions and types of relationships among actors on one hand and concerns with conditions and consequences of actions on the other. Strauss (Strauss, 1987) named these codes "in-vivo codes" which "tend to be the behaviours or the processes which will explain to the analyst how the basic problem of the actors is resolved or processed" (Strauss, 1987 p. 33). This is to enable coding to remain inclusive of relevant items at a subsequent stage of sifting data (Gilbert, 1993 p. 229). Otherwise, coding is not considered to be coding (Strauss, 1987 pp. 27-28).

In this, the author used such codes to categorise, for example, data describing the state's capacity needs. This is shown in the following example where quotes are drawn from an interview with the director of the General Commission for Engineering Studies and Consultation (GCEC). Here, only the code 'state's organisational needs' is discussed,

although the quotes used have more than one unit of content and have been labelled with several codes during the analysis.



Thus, the code 'state's organisational needs' refers to several issues concerning the mental models of the public development authorities in terms of capacity, attitude, regulations and the rules to be followed. In addition, the same code refers to issues related to organisational forms of these authorities, divisions, departments and responsibilities. In other words, the code explains more than one dimension of the behaviour of the 'state' being an actor in society and affecting the urban development process in the context of the chosen case studies.

However, despite the inclusive use of indigenous categories, the results arrived at in the first stage of the analysis were of limited dimensions and only related to the case

studies. Therefore, a **second** stage where codes were clustered into concepts or abstract categories followed the coding. In this, several codes of similar focus were brought together to inform a certain 'character' or 'dimension' of the actors or behaviours described in the data. This was in order to make analysis of results academically understandable and comparable to other cases (Gilbert, 1993).

In the case of this research, the concepts were partly pre-considered when preparing for the field trip, as they were the main areas for inquiry and key components of the interview questions. However, these were then further refined and modified through the analysis in accordance with the content of the empirical data received from the interviewees and the codes used to categorise it. For example, the following codes have been derived from the data provided by the interviewees and were stepped back into literature where necessary[129].

Table 4-2: The codes used to categorise the barriers to participation in the informal areas in Damascus

lack of proper structure	socially unstable/ constantly changing	high in population	lack of trust	lack of representation	not acknowledged as a local community	lack of awareness	no state will	not interested society	no response

Source: The author

These have been linked together to form the concept of '*barriers to participation in the informal areas*' and these, the codes and the concept, were decided on during the analysis process. Whereas, in relation to the concept '*perception of civil society among society forces*', this was one of the pre-decided components of the first question in the interviews. This then helped to derive the codes of '*strong, fair and weak perception*' using the theoretical definition of the concept adapted from the literature in Chapter two. A summary of all the codes and their related derived concepts used in this research is shown in Appendix 6-1. These are categorised in relation to the interview questions[130].

[129] This has been explained earlier in the chapter.
[130] It is important to note that the derived concepts are in relation to the context of the case studies but can be compared to other cases.

Thirdly, these concepts form the research themes, typologies or core categories (Gilbert, 1993; Cassell, et al., 2004). These "sum up in a pattern of behaviour the substance of what is going on in the data" (Strauss, 1987 p. 35). These research themes must be continuously proven by its relevant relationship to other categories (Strauss, 1987 pp. 35-36; Cassell, et al., 2004 p. 247).

This research is concerned with two main themes. These are represented in the two parts of the analytical framework[131] adopted in Chapter two and illustrated in Figure 2-6. The first part relates to the urban development context of the case studies. Its aim is to define the nature and interests of the main society forces which affect urban development decision making. In addition, it is to understand of the sphere of relationships between these forces. This has led to an understanding of the mental models of urban development institutions, which is the second part of the analytical framework that, additionally, is concerned with development organisational forms, and this is the second theme the research highlights. These themes are discussed at a local level in this chapter (under the following headings) but at a national level in Chapter seven.

These two core categories are found in all different contexts of urban development. Nonetheless, they do, to a certain extent, have different content (namely, dimensions). The first category represents what Schein (1990, 1996) described as "underlying basic assumptions and values", while the second one addresses "observable artefacts, 'products' of, and manifest behaviours of, a certain culture" (Cassell, et al., 2004 p. 245). This discussion of themes and their dimensions were further supported and validated with evidence driven from the focus groups and observations carried out in addition to the semi-structured interviews.

The core category, and this forms the **fourth** step of the analysis, has "a prime function of integrating the theory and rendering it dense and saturated as the relationships are discovered" reaching the stage of "theoretical saturation" (Cassell, et al., 2004 p. 245) or, as called in this research, "theoretical sampling" (Strauss, 1987 pp. 35-39). The main question of this stage was "what groups or subgroups of populations, events, activities (with varying dimensions, strategies, etc) does one turn to next in data collection. And

[131] This research adapts a part of the analytical framework applied by Carley, et al. (2001) on different case studies around the world to understand the nature of urban governance. Nevertheless, the author tried to modify this framework to be applicable to the case in Syria.

for what theoretical purpose?" (Strauss, 1987 pp. 38-39). This stage is applied for the purpose of this research in Chapter eight.

It is important to note that a constant comparative method was applied throughout the stages of the analysis process (Cassell, et al., 2004 p. 245). Different codes and respective extracts of transcriptions were compared in the first stage, and this resulted in the definition and selection of a set of concepts to be elaborated further. Then, these concepts were compared in order to define a set of 'characteristics' and 'dimensions' describing the research themes or core strategies and these were to describe and distinguish the subculture of the urban development decision-making process in Syria and further understand the position of civil society in it, and this is the research aim.

A well-known typology to evaluate the level of participation process was introduced by Sherry Arnstein and named the 'Ladder of Participation' as shown in Figure 4-1. This typology suggests eight categories of people based on their levels of power. Therefore, the ladder is often used to help understand the difference between participation and involvement.

Nonetheless, this ladder typology was criticised for a number of limitations. First, the ladder placed the powerful next to the powerless in order to highlight the division between them. In reality, however, neither the powerful nor the powerless are homogeneous blocs, as both include a wide variety of community groups of different origins, interests and needs. Therefore, it is important to note that it is hard to find a sharp end for each rung on this ladder. This is because both "community" and "power" are hard to pin down themselves (Arnstein, 1969 pp. 216-224). Second, the ladder suggests the existence of two extreme ends of 'non participation' and 'citizen control', where in practice, people and systems are more complicated where road blocks to participation exist at both ends. On the powerful side, "they include racism, paternalism, and resistance to power redistribution", while on the powerless side, "they include inadequacies of the poor community's political socioeconomic infrastructure and knowledge-base, plus difficulties of organizing a representative and accountable citizens' group in the face of futility, alienation, and distrust" (Arnstein, 1969 pp. 216-224).

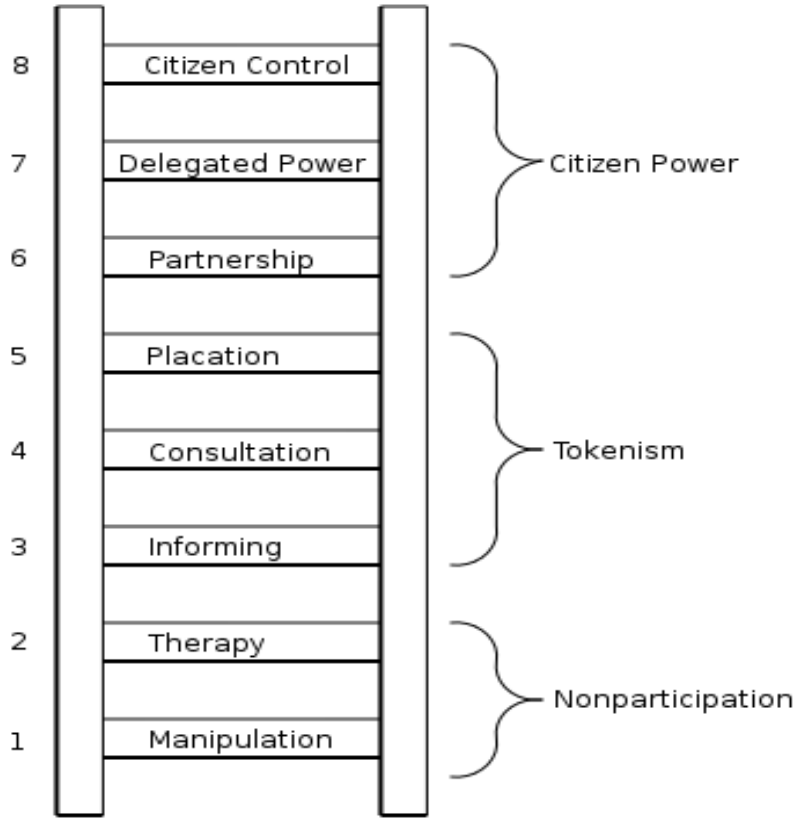


Figure 4-1: The ladder of participation

Source: (Arnstein, 1969)

In an attempt to avoid the sharp separation between levels of power and the two extremes of the powerful and powerless, another more integrated typology was developed by South Lanarkshire Council (SLC) in the form of a wheel called 'Wheel of Participation' as shown in Figure 4-2. "Under this scheme, one moves from the extreme of no community input, with the Council taking all the decisions, through consultation and participation to citizen empowerment, where the community make their own decisions on issues that affect them" (SLC, 2010). In this, the wheel suggests less 'sharp' and 'pure' distinctions among the levels of participation. In addition, the wheel opens up the possibility that some of the characteristics used to illustrate each of the 12 addressed levels might be applicable to other categories. Thus the wheel is believed to be more reflective of the complexity and interrelation of community groups and power sites and levels in any given context.

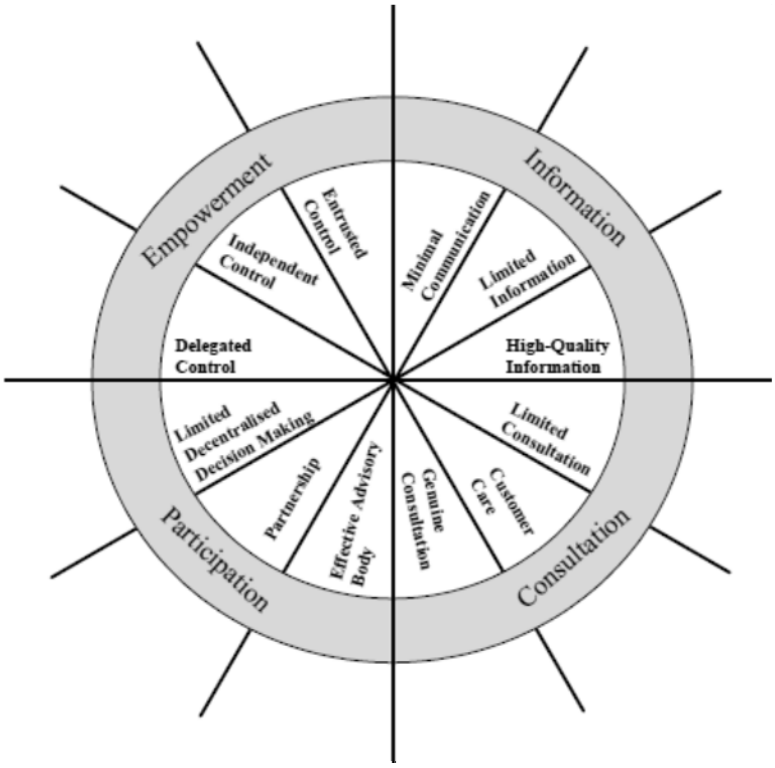


Figure 4-2: The wheel of participation

Source: (SLC, 2010)

Due to the fact that all participation theories and empowerment policies have been introduced by the North, and the absence of non-western typology to evaluate civil society participation in the context of the countries of the South, the author adopts the 'Wheel of Participation' as a tool for the evaluation of civil society participation process in relation to the research case studies. This is detailed in the analysis in Chapter six of this thesis.

4.6 Ethics and research

4.6.1 Social research ethics

Social research is usually concerned with answering the questions of who and how in relation to social behaviour within a certain place and time context. Therefore, it is essential to consider a number of ethics during the social research process, as truth is good, however, human dignity is better (Weber, 2007, drawing from Bulmer, 2001). In this research, a number of ethical principles suggested by Bulmer (2001) and Weber (2007) have been considered. These are associated with informed consent, avoiding

harm to participants and the researcher, avoiding deceit in the course of research and attending to the consequences of publication.

With respect to **informed consent** in this research, all interviewees who participated in the informal interviews, semi-structured interviews and focus groups were informed of the author's position as a PhD researcher and of the purpose of the interviews and the data collected from them. Thus, a printed handout of the research purpose and objectives and the key interview areas was handed to each participant prior to each encounter. However, in relation to the observational opportunities, the author attended both events as a regular attendee. The author received an invitation to attend the GoD workshop from a member of the academic body in Damascus University and this person, along with a very limited number of the workshop participants, was aware of the author's position and of the observation purpose. For the second observation at Al-Qanawat community workshop, the author attended without invitation, as it was open to the public, and only one member of the study party was aware of the author's position. Since information derived from these observations was also used to assist the interviews' findings, an element of covert research was also undertaken and considered to be justified. This is due to the fact that introducing the author to the attendees might have caused them to feel uncomfortable, which would potentially affect their attitude making it more conservative and far from what it would be otherwise. Therefore, covert research was considered to contribute to collecting data that was closer to the reality of the relationship among society forces.

Topics related to 'governance' and 'civil society' are treated with high sensitivity in Syria. Special attention was paid to issues related to **avoiding harm to participants and researcher**. Some interviewees, were very conservative in their answers and the author respected that and neither put pressure on nor misled participants in order to collect information. In addition, the author tried to widen the sample of interviewees to gather further information. Furthermore, some interviewees tried to raise issues of unfulfilled rights. In this, the author avoided sensitive issues that may cause potential complications to the participant or the author and tried to stick to the interview questions whenever the discussion drifted off the course of the research purpose. Furthermore, the identities of the interviewees are kept anonymous in the interview

transcripts and recordings to avoid these being used in the case of data being stolen or accessed by people other than the author[132].

Issues of deceit are avoided in relation to dealing with the interview participants as they were generally properly informed of both the author's position as a PhD researcher and the purpose of the interviews. Furthermore, distortion is avoided in relation to source, type and content of data gathered and their findings.

Attending to the consequences of publication is related to the research results. This research may be considered a critique of some urban development institutions in Syria, and these may not approve of the results or the recommendations of the research. Therefore, the author tried to maintain a proactive perspective in data analysis and research findings and recommendations. Furthermore, all participants and key informants' identities were kept anonymous within this thesis if they so requested, as the aim of processing this research is to shed light on areas of weakness in urban development governance in Syria, not for the sake of criticism itself but to promote good practice in civil society participation in urban development decision-making. Only a limited academic audience is expected to have interest in this research in its initial published form. Nonetheless, there is potential that it will attract the interest of individuals from the relevant professions and the planning authorities in Syria, as it concerns (in a considerable amount of detail) issues related to urban development policies, mental models and institutional structure within an account that is directly applicable to Syria. Besides, this research provides an insight into one of the areas of the effect of UNDP on urban development governance in Syria, and this is one of the recent debates in the country especially during the period of transition the country is experiencing.

[132] Anonymity has been offered to the interviewees during the field trip. Most interviewees preferred to remain anonymous, especially those from the private sector and civil society organisations. This is due to the sensitivity of the area investigated, as the concept of "civil society" is still underdeveloped and the only understanding of this is to be opposing the state. Therefore, most interviewees were very aware of their interests when responding to the interviews questions although these were only in relation to land-use and did not refer to any sensitive affairs. Anonymous participants have been referred to as 'not to be named' in this thesis.

4.6.2 Positionality and reflexivity in research

There are certain values and interests of the researcher which unavoidably influence and shape research encounters, processes, and outcomes (Hopkins, 2007, drawing from Skelton, in press). These are often related to personal experiences, political views, religious beliefs and even age, gender and sexual orientation (bera, 2009), and these usually form the researcher's position in the research or what is called 'the research positionality'. It has been argued that reflecting on the researcher's own positionality, and this is the meaning of reflexivity, is efficient in enriching the perception of reality in social research rather than pretending its absence (Hopkins, 2007; bera, 2009). Related to this, Cooper (2001) provided the following insight:

> *"Good social research involves more than the identification of a worthwhile topic and the selection and competent use of an appropriate method, vital though these are (....) research is inevitably framed by conceptual and theoretical considerations (...) such frameworks, properly handled, can enrich and enhance the research.*
>
> *In one sense, it is not a question of choosing whether to ignore or attend to these issues, since theory will be present in the research; but it may be present in the form of unrecognised assumptions that shape what is done in an uncontrolled manner. The explicit use of concepts and theories is therefore part of good research practice, in that the researcher is more in control of the direction, meaning and implications of his or her work."*
>
> (Cooper, 2001, in Gilbert 2001 p. 1)

However, this may potentially lead to, according to Malcolm (1993), "questionable practices in the use, selection, manipulation and interpretation of data" (bera, 2009, URL). Therefore, Malcolm argues that a more effective approach would be for the researcher to "deliberately self-criticize" him/her self "in order to make explicit the evidence and arguments needed to defend a position", and this needs the researcher "to seek an unaccustomed distance" between his/her self and his/her practice (Malcolm, 1993, in bera, 2009).

May (2001 p. 51) suggests that the researcher's values are involved in the research phases of:

- "the researcher's interests leading to research;
- the aims, objectives and design of a research project;
- the process of collecting data;
- the interpretation of the data; and
- the use made of the research findings".

The author's interest in community participation in urban development related theories started during an MSc course in Urban and Regional Planning as the area was totally new for the author and explored the complexity of society spheres and social behaviour which themselves were of special interest for the author. This led the author to carry out further investigation in this area via work on the MSc dissertation with the intention of carrying on this research during PhD study. Syria has been chosen as a context for the study after reading news on participation attempts being carried out for several developments in the city of Damascus. As Damascus is the author's home, this led to the intention of carrying out research on civil society participation in urban development in Syria based on the case of Damascus and investigating the reasons for adopting such a new form of development decision-making. Considered in relation to the Syrian context, this led the author to understand the effect of the UNDP on this case, which led to the structure of the research aim, objectives and methods.

There has been awareness of the areas of similarity and difference between the participants and the author while carrying out the interviews, which is essential in the process of data collection and analysis (see Hopkins 2007 and bera, 2009). In this, and in order to conduct a more constructive study with practical outcomes, the author attempted to be open and cooperative in seeking data without imposing any influence on the participants' responses or behaviours. Furthermore, the author attempted to be objective in terms of data analysis and social behaviour interpretation. In this, the author does not claim that the research results are value free, however, the author tried to follow Malcolm's approach (1993) through creating 'an unaccustomed distance' between her own perceptions and those of the participants in order to generate research findings which are approximate to reality.

4.7 Research timeline

The author registered for the PhD degree in October 2007. The author started the research process the following December through exploring the literature on planning theories, urban development and participation. This was then more focussed on planning governance, society forces and participation. The Syrian context was then explored in relation to politics, economy and society in order to understand the context where the research investigation was to take place. Afterwards, further readings were carried out in relation to the urban development process and its stakeholders in Syria followed by studying civil society participation policies by different international agencies, especially the UN, in the countries of the South. These finally led to constructing the research aim and objectives and then finalising the research analytical framework by July 2008. Literature on research methodologies and data collection methods was surveyed till the end of 2008.

An initial field trip to Syria took place in March 2009 (3 weeks) in order to gather further literature on the Syrian context in relation to the research interest and to informally interview some key informants and discuss with them the main concerns of the research. This led to further understanding of the Syrian context of urban development and to the choice of the case studies of the research. This field trip was followed by the process of studying the literature related to the chosen case studies, designing proper data collection methods and finalising the interview questions that could serve the research objectives.

The key field trip which followed during March-April 2010 (6 weeks) was for research primary data collection via interviewing triangulated with programme observations. The challenge of this field trip was its time limit. Therefore, the researcher had to carry out several tasks in parallel (this is further explained in the following sub-section of research challenges and limitations). The data collected was analysed and research findings were generated leading to recommendations for promoting positive civil society participation in terms of both policy and practice within the Syrian development context. This was processed in parallel with the writing up of the thesis and finalising

the chapters' first draft. The following Table 4-3 shows the above explained research tasks and their duration expressed in study years quarters.

Table 4-3: The research Grantt Chart

Research tasks		Study years 2007-2012 in quarters																			
		07		08				09				10				11				12	
		3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2
Literature review	Research skills																				
	Theory																				
	International policies																				
	Syrian context/case studies																				
Field trips	Interviewing																				
	Programme observation																				
Triangulation of data																					
Data analysis/finalise findings																					
Writing up first draft																					
Finalise thesis																					

Source: The author

4.8 Research challenges and limitations

Due to the tradition of 'state power' being in control of all development decisions for the last four decades in Syria, information related to civil society in terms of both evolution and current organisational forms was very limited. This was experienced when looking for literature on governance and decentralization of power.

Furthermore, there was only a little and relatively old research on urban development in Syria. This made tracking the evolution of urban development decision-making a real challenge, as there was no literature available to explain this clearly. Furthermore, most of the Syrian literature was grey and patchy with very few properly referenced resources. This meant that facts were checked mainly through triangulation of data and references. Therefore, the contribution of this research is of a high importance as a start to enriching the knowledge base of urban development governance in Syria, specifically in relation to civil society participation as there is extremely limited literature available

on this to date. This research is believed to be a development of the understanding of the concept of 'civil society participation', and a boost to carry on further research in that field in relation in Syria. More details on this are included in both the research contributions section in the introductory chapter, and in a further research section in the concluding chapter.

Issues of fixing a time schedule for the interviews during the second field trip was very hard to accomplish as most of the interviewees, especially those in national planning authorities, changed the interviews dates and times several times and sometimes cancelled them. This, in addition to the field trip having a limited time span, caused time management to be a challenge during the field trip where sometimes a few days passed by with limited productivity (especially during the first two weeks of the field trip), while other days were packed with different tasks to be carried out in parallel. In addition, various degrees of reservation were experienced with the interviewees from the private sector especially when questions were related to the relationship with the state. This is because the state is still known to be in power in decision-making and people from the private sector were very conscious of their interests when answering the interview questions. Their responses were diplomatic and possibly far more reflecting of ideals than reality. Furthermore, interviewees from the civil society organisations were hard to track down. Those who participated provided limited responses to the research questions, and those who were open to talk did not wish the interviews to be recorded but only agreed to notes being taken. This made transcription of the interviews more challenging because of the possibility of missing some details of the discussion. Besides, it was difficult to quote from those in the analysis chapters due to the lack of exact transcripts on the issues investigated during these interviews.

Tracking representative samples of the public who had participated in previous participation experiences (project studies for the Damascus metro case study or academic research for the informal housing survey in 2008) was very hard as these were anonymous. Although the author tried to publicise contact information in different approved areas, no response was received. Therefore, the author organised two focus group discussions and observed two workshops as data source alternatives for those who could not be traced. Opportunities for these occurred during the field trip.

Triangulation of data was widely used in data collection and analysis to minimise the effect of these limitations on the research objectives and outcomes, as one source of information was, quite often, not enough to inform the issues investigated.

A general limitation of this research was the underdeveloped understanding of the concepts of 'civil society' and 'participation' among participants from the local planning authorities and the private sector and even from civil society organisations. This, being a key finding in this research, emphasised the need to develop the understanding of these concepts within the Syrian urban development context. However, this limitation made collecting relevant responses a challenge. Therefore, the author used a wide variety of interviews and other methods to collect primary data (informal, semi-structured and focus group discussions triangulated with programme observations) in order to gain high quality data. This is to support a deeper understanding of the investigated areas of this research, rather than having a large number of interviews but without valuable content that can serve the research questions.

A key challenge to this research, however, is the recent change Syria is experiencing. This has the potential to change the institutional context of urban development in terms of both the mental models and the organisational structure. The former is a potential result of, first, the changes in the society forces' spheres of power and, second, the state's modernisation attempts recently taking place in different areas of society including local administration. This will introduce changes in the roles and responsibilities of the society forces on both the local and national levels. Consequently, this will contribute to urban policy development. Thus, the organisational structures of society entities and their areas of intersection are due to change. Therefore, different outcomes may result if a similar analytical framework to the one introduced in this research is tested again after these changes take place. This, however, is a natural result of the contested nature of society forces in any examined context. Nonetheless, the research is still seen as a serious contribution to understanding the current context of urban development governance in Syria and the position of civil society in it. Furthermore, this research is a start to build on for further research in relevant areas as discussed further in Chapter eight.

4.9 Conclusion

In conclusion, this research is viewed within the inductive-deductive cycle in its approach where a specified theoretical framework is tested within the Syrian context of urban development governance to examine civil society participation in urban development decision-making. In this, progressive outcomes were reached in relation to the case studies context. These helped to increase the empirical understanding of urban development decision-making as a process within a given governance context, by identifying society actors' roles and relationships and how these contribute to addressing and delivering society needs. The research findings cannot be generalised on the universal level of urban development theories, but can provide a basis for normative approaches that can be applicable in similar urban development contexts to that of Syria.

Furthermore, the research adopts a case study approach where a two-fold articulation of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods of literature review and different forms of interviewing have been triangulated through observations in field work. This was with the awareness of research ethics and the effect of the author's position in the research. In this, primary and secondary data in relation to urban development governance and civil society participation in theory, international policies and the Syrian development context were collected. Triangulation of data collection and analysis has been widely used in this research to overcome the limited availability of literature in relation to the case studies and their context on one hand, and the underdeveloped responses of the interviewees on the other. This is in order to obtain a closer perception of the reality of civil society participation in the urban development governance context in Syria than would otherwise have been possible. This is further explained and clearly shown in the analysis in chapters five and six in this thesis.

Chapter five: Research case studies overview

5.1 Introduction

The previous research methodology chapter provided an explanation of the purpose of the case studies choice and their potential contribution to the research aim. The case studies in this contribute to answering the following key research questions:

1.4 What type of governance, state-market-civil society relationship, currently exists in Syria?
2.1 What form of urban development organisation currently exists in Syria?
2.3 What participation mechanisms currently exist in Syria in terms of urban development?

These questions have already been partly answered on a national level and on the level of Damascus city in Chapter three. This chapter will focus on the same key concepts, but in detail at the very local level of case studies. The case studies are introduced in two parts. The first is descriptive of the development process taking place in relation to each case study and this is provided in this chapter. The second part is an analysis of the development process, where the actors involved and their organisational forms and interlinks are discussed, and this is provided in the following Chapter six.

The data used to provide a description of the development process in each case study has been derived from a variety of sources. Secondary data was collected from international agencies, central and local government reports, development websites, project information handouts and the Syrian press. Primary data, however, was derived from interviews with central and local government officials, international agency workers, private sector and NGOs members (as discussed earlier in Chapter four).

The overview of each case study introduced in this chapter is described via a structure based on several key issues. These are: an *overview of the development*, where a

physical description of the development is provided along with an overview of the origins of the development; *the development process*, where a description of the main issues, tasks and changes in the development is introduced with emphasis on describing any form of public participation which took place; and *an organisational overview*[133] of what main players, laws and organisations played a role in the development. This is followed by a summary discussion of the key issues related to the case studies and the participation process which took place in each of these.

5.2 Pilot projects for new approaches to land-use decision-making in Damascus

As discussed in Chapter three, there is a national awareness in Syria of the importance of empowerment of civil society, which has started to be seen as a partner in working towards achieving the potential SHD model encouraged by UNDP - which in turn considers participation to be one of the main components of SHD delivery criteria and a key dimension of good governance (UNDP, 2011a; 2005a). Thus, and in relation to the focus of this research, the Syrian state has started to take new approaches for urban development decision-making which are more participatory in nature, rather than being highly centralised. However, the planning authorities at present lack the proper capacity and organisational structure to cope with this approach. Therefore, urban planning authorities on the national level (as represented by MoLA) and on the local level (governorates) have started to work in partnership with different international experts to implement participation through a variety of pilot projects within different areas in the country.

Damascus has been chosen as a context for the case studies due to the reasons explained in the previous chapter. Participation as a support mechanism for decision-making started to take place in several pilot projects from 2008 onwards[134]. For this, Damascus governorate has worked in partnership with a number of international parties who provide the skilled experts to manage and facilitate the process on one hand, and then

[133] This is also expanded on further in the following Chapter six.
[134] This is when the first activity to engage the public took place in several development projects in the city of Damascus.

also provide full or part funding to carry out the development studies and their implementation on the other. Therefore, it can be said that facilitating participation in urban development decision-making is not the mere will of the GoD[135] but a requirement of the international donor before granting the funding.

The international expert groups working with the GoD and MoLA to facilitate civil society participation in urban land-use decision-making within the city of Damascus are The German International Cooperation (GIZ)[136], The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), The Municipal Modernisation Programme Team (MAM) and The French-Lebanese joint venture SYSTRA + Khatib and Alami (K&A) (see Table 5-1).

Table 5-1: The international partners operating civil society participation in urban land-use decision-making in Damascus

Study party	**Donor**	**Year**	**Development programmes**	**Related urban development within Damascus**	**Year participation activities started**
GIZ	German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)	2007	Programme for Sustainable Urban Development (GIZ-UDP)	Damascus Old City reservation and environmental protection	2008
JICA	Official Development Assistance (ODA)[137]	2006	Project for Urban Development and Planning in Damascus Metropolitan Area (DMA-UPD)	Al-Qanawat South and Al-Ghota	2008
MAM	The European International Bank (EIB)[138]	2006	Municipal Administration Modernisation Project (MAM)	Street 30 West and Qassyoon informal settlement	2008
SYSTRA + K&A	The European International Bank (EIB)	2007	Transportation development	Damascus Metro	2008

Source: The author

[135] Despite the will on the national level to facilitate participation, the local authorities are still to change. This issue will be further discussed under the research results.

[136] "The Program for Sustainable Urban Development GIZ- UDP is a joint undertaking of the Ministry of Local Administration (MoLA), Planning and International Cooperation Commission (PIC), the Municipality of Aleppo (MoA), the Governorate of Damascus (GoD), several other Syrian partner institutions and the German International Cooperation (GIZ) under the patronage of the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)" (GIZ, 2007)

[137] For further information on this see Appendix 5-1.

[138] "The Facility for Euro-Mediterranean Investment and Partnership (FEMIP), the European Investment Bank's (EIB) financial arm for the Mediterranean Region, has today provided the Syrian Ministry of Local Administration with a 50 million EUR loan [out of a 100 million EUR package] for significantly upgrading municipal infrastructure across Syria" (EIB, 2011).

Civil society participation was facilitated by these parties in six pilot projects within the city of Damascus at the time of the field trip. These were Al-Qanawat South and Al-Ghota as part of the Project for Urban Planning and Development in Damascus Metropolitan Area DMA-UPD run by JICA; Street 30 West and Qassyoon informal settlement, both run by MAM; Damascus metro (the green line) by SYSTRA + K&A; and Old Damascus reservation and environmental awareness as part of the Program for Sustainable Urban Development (UDP) run by GIZ. The funding parties for these projects and the years of their launching are shown in Table 5-1 and the location of the six related urban developments are shown in the map in Figure 5-1.

Two developments out of these (numbered 1 and 6 on the map shown in Figure 5-1) have been chosen as case studies for the purposes of this research. The first (number 6) is the Damascus tram route development, which is on a macro level and employed a top-down participation process where the development plans were set by related planning authorities, then the targeted community was informed to participate. The case study was chosen at an early stage of the research as it had been well advertised via Syrian media and this drew the author's attention at a stage in this study where only little information about the facilitation of participation in urban development in Syria was available.

The second case study is Qassyoon informal settlement regeneration development (number 1) which is at the micro level, where a bottom-up participation process took place. The choice of this case study was finalised a month before the second field trip to Damascus as several informal settlements were possible for choice but this was the one where a form of participation was facilitated.

The two case studies employed different patterns and levels of civil society participation. Therefore, these case studies are seen to be illustrative of the range of current state/market/civil society relations, and as such, helpful to provide an understanding of the institutional structure of urban decision-making in terms of land-use. These two issues are closely looked at in each case study in the following chapter.

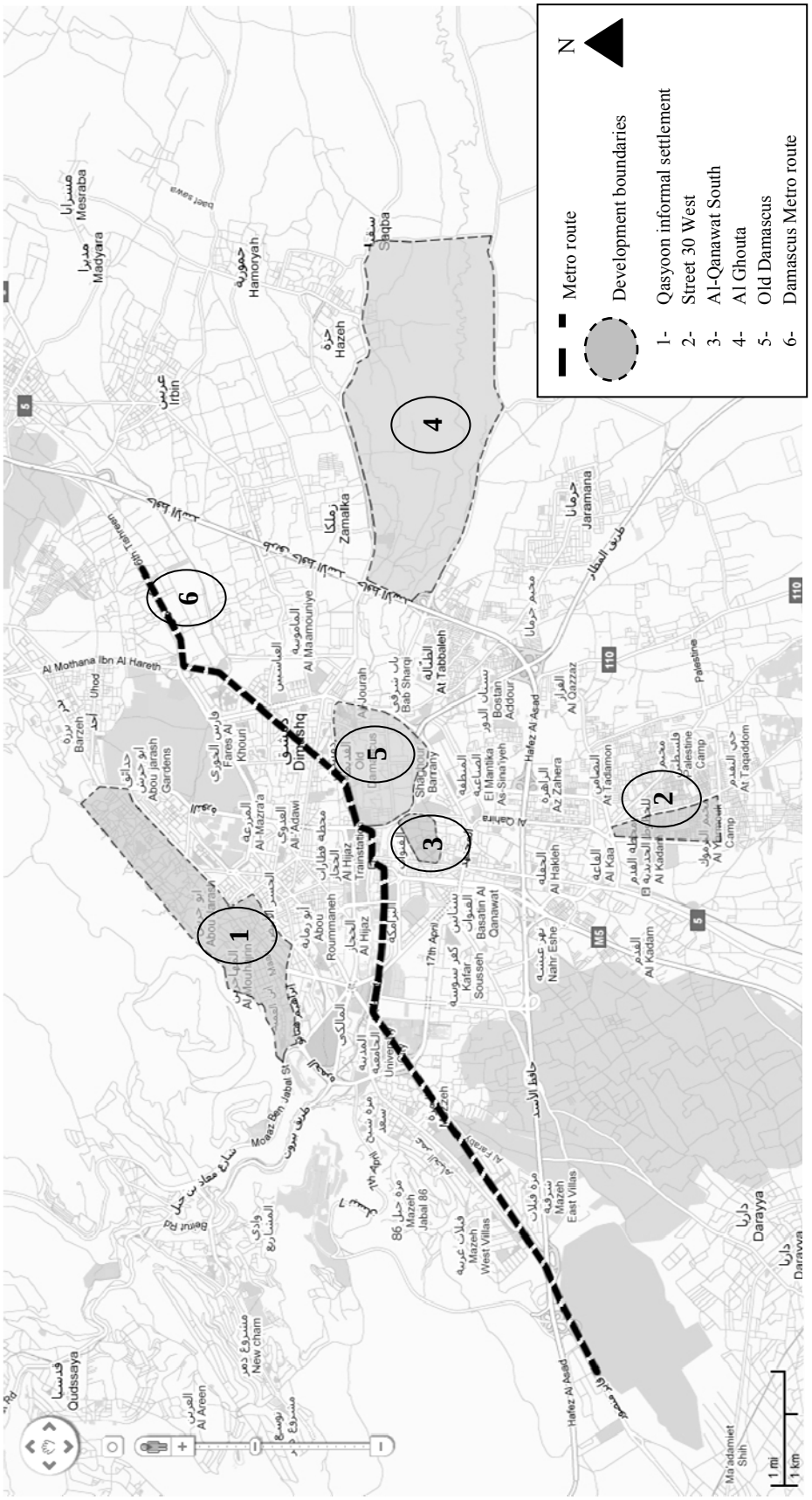


Figure 5-1: The locations of the urban developments carried out with civil society participation within Damascus

Source: Google Maps, 2011, edited by the author

5.3 Top-down participation in urban development – Damascus green line

5.3.1 An overview of the development

The Green Line is the first step towards a future metro network that covers the whole city as shown in Figure 5-2. It is proposed to run 16.5 km from Moadamiyeh in the south west to Qaboun in the north east through the city centre (17 stations) as shown in Figure 5-3.

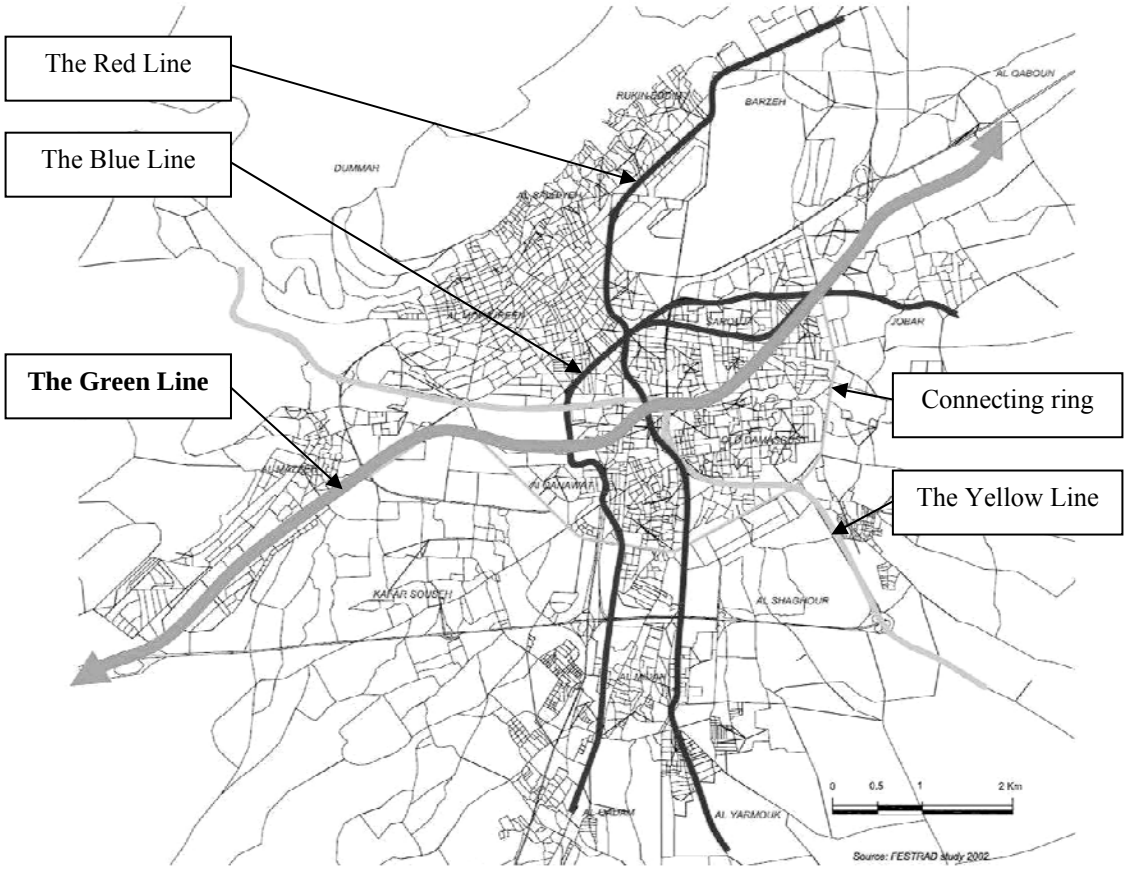


Figure 5-2: The planned Damascus metro network

Source: (GoD, 2008a) edited by the author

The preliminary development studies[139] were funded by the EIB and were carried out by the French-Lebanese joint venture SYSTRA and K&A, under the patronage of GoD. The main objective of this stage was to define the line route which is shown in Figure 5-3, and this follows the main east-west road axes in the city, to link together the city's

[139] This study included topography, geology and soil, air quality, water resources, biodiversity, visual quality, archaeology and culture, noise and vibration and socio-economic evaluation (the last being where a participation statement is needed).

major transport hubs (Sumaria bus station, Qaboun bus station, Hijaz railway station); running through dense residential areas (Moadamiyeh, Mezzeh) - and connecting these with major activity centres in the city (universities, city centre). The line is expected to serve 690,000 – 860,000 passengers per day (GoD, 2008a).

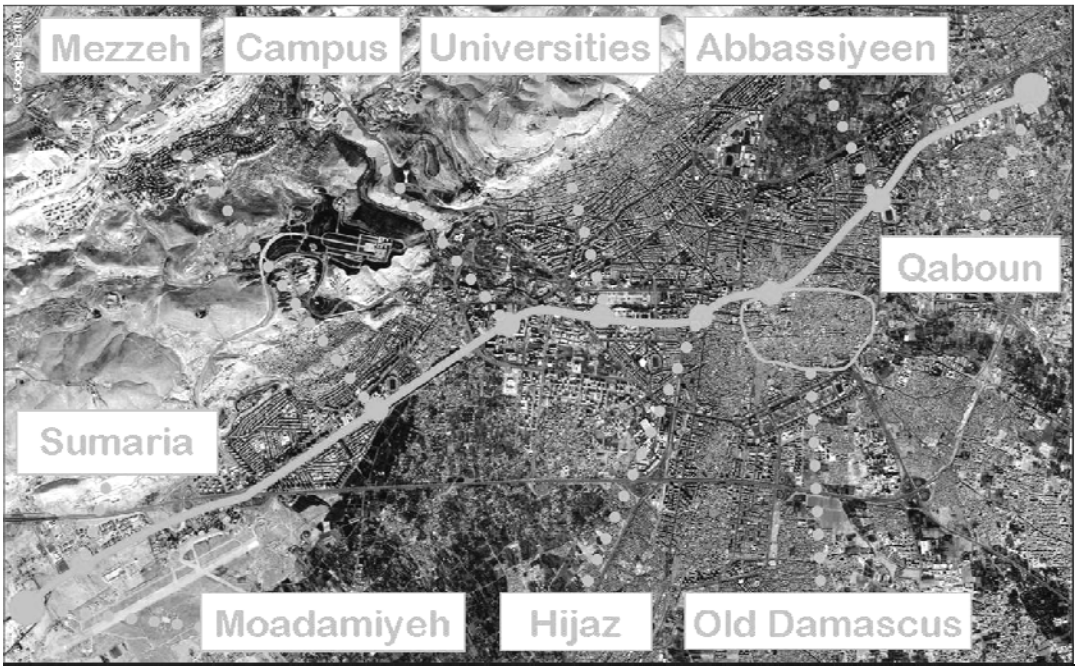


Figure 5-3: Location Map of the proposed Damascus Green Line

Source: (GoD, 2008b)

There were several proposals for a metro development in the city of Damascus during the past 25 years as it is seen to be one of the possible solutions to the city's traffic problems and their environmental impact which created the need for a transportation policy shift to discourage private modes and encourage public transport[140].

However, a metro development has not been considered a priority to GoD as other public transportation issues are considered more urgent at the moment[141]. Therefore, the work in this development has currently stopped after finishing the preliminary study. Another – and perhaps more important - reason for this is the difficulty in deciding the execution party and sufficient funding source. This is due to the centralisation of the

[140] Currently, there are more than 300,000 vehicles on Damascus streets. This number has overloaded the capacity of the road network and has caused a dramatic rise in the air and noise pollution in the city; in addition to traffic jams and fatal accidents. This is in addition to lack of a reliable public transport system and the dense urban environment of Damascus. As a result, the pollution, noise and visual impacts due to this traffic congestion seriously diminish the quality of life in Damascus (GoD, 2008a).

[141] This is according to the interview with Ayasoo the director of the UPD in GoD.

decision on one hand and the uncertainty surrounding the development's estimated cost on the other[142].

5.3.2 The development process – Public participation opportunity

It has been observed that planning for Mass Rapid Transit Systems (MRTS) usually start when a city's population exceeds 1 million so that it can be in service by the time the population reaches 2-3 million. Damascus and its surrounding region has a total population of 3.82 million (2004 est.) with 1.572 million of these within the Damascus administrative area (2004 est.) (CBoS, 2007a). This makes an MRTS crucial in order to support commuting within and around the city[143] (Kadem, 2011).

The first study for a metro development in Damascus was in 1982 by a Russian party. The study took 1.5 years to complete and was published at the end of 1984. It included estimates of the financial side (construction costs, funding options and investment returns) and the tender and construction details. However, the development did not make it past the study phase. This may be due to the effect of the dramatic changes that took place in Russia (the former Soviet Union) and the impact on Syrian/Russian relations[144]. Subsequent studies were held by different parties from Iran, Armenia and Malaysia, yet the Russian one was the most serious and comprehensive[145]. It suggested three metro lines connected by a fourth circular one with a total length of 46km and 42 stations to cover the city's needs with a total construction cost of approximately 561.73 million EUR [146] (Kadem, 2011). None of these studies has been implemented, however, due to the Syrian planning authorities' lack of capacity to fund and execute the development.

Due to a request from GoD, the Damascus metro was again put on the table in 2008 with a French proposal for the Green Line as part of a four-line network to cover the whole city (as shown in Figure 5-2). The total construction cost for the Green line as

[142] These reasons were given by the director of UPD in GoD and were highlighted by Al-Hajj, the vice director of the same department.
[143] This conclusion is based on the planning authorities' views, not the public perception of the problem.
[144] The dissolution of the Soviet Union reformed Syrian/Russian relations on all levels and this affected the financial agreements between the two countries.
[145] This information is summarised by Kadem (2011) and supported by data collected from interviewees in GoD.
[146] This amount was converted from the reported cost of 39 billion and 500 million SYP using a currency converter website (XE, 1995-2011).

estimated by SYSTRA was approximately 1.2 billion EUR (around 60 million EUR per km) where 250 million EUR was to be funded by the French government via a loan to GoD and up to 400 million EUR was provided by EIB while the remaining 600 million EUR was to be funded by GoD (Kadem, 2011; Syria-Stocks, 2010; Syrian-Economic, 2010). The development is estimated to have a timeline of eight years to complete all five development phases shown in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2: The phases of the Green Line development process

Phase period	**Phase of study**	**Main tasks included**
2008- 2009	Feasibility study	• Topography, geology and soil, air quality, water resources, biodiversity, visual quality, archaeology and culture, noise and vibration. • **Socio-economic evaluation (a participation statement is required).** • Institutional and financial recommendations by the international consultants.
2009-2010	Basic design	• A further detailed study. • Finalising the funding plan. • Implementing the required institutional reinforcements.
2010-2011	Call for tender	• The selection of the future international consortium associated to local partners in charge of constructing the line.
2012	Detailed design	• The completion of the infrastructure designs before proceeding to construction works.
2012-2016	Construction	• The construction of the viaduct, the tunnel, the stations and the depot. • Manufacturing the rolling stock and delivering it in Damascus. • Testing the line.

Source: The author, using information available on the Green Line website

However, the French bid for the development is seen by the Syrian government to be expensive compared to the cost of similar developments within the region (e.g. in Turkey the cost for a similar development was around 16.8 million EUR per km; while in Cairo and Tehran it was around 23 million EUR per km) (Kadem, 2011). Therefore, the government is looking for alternative partners (Turkish or Iranian) in a way that local labour and materials can be employed and eventually the cost can be reduced by 50%.

Another possibility suggested by the chair of the rail transport department in Damascus University, Dr. Omayra (2011), is to fund the development by using the build-operate-transfer (BOT) system (Kadem, 2011). In this, the development is given as a long term investment to private foreign or national investor(s), via a successful bid, at no or minor costs to the government under certain regulations set by the state (Badawi, 2003). After the private investment and operating period comes to an end, the ownership of the development is transferred to the state. However, no firm decision has been reached at the moment and the development has stalled at its second phase.

In relation to the concern of this research and the reason for choosing this development as a case study, the first phase of the development of the feasibility study (as shown in Table 5-2) has included a socio-economic evaluation and in this a public participation statement was required. This was a part of the development report documents required by the funding party and not a regular process implemented by GoD in such developments (according to the interview with the head of the UPD in GoD Ayaso, 2010). Therefore, GoD was obliged to implement some public participation mechanism as requested by the development study party.

The public participation process started in April 2008 and ended in February 2009 and was divided into three phases as shown in Table 5-3. Different participation tools of information packs, questionnaires (a copy of the questionnaire is provided in Appendix 5-2), websites, public exhibition and meetings, NGO meetings and other public and private stakeholder meetings were used. The participation process that took place in this development is looked at closely in the following chapter.

Table 5-3: Public participation phases in the development of the Green Line

Phase	Phase period	Area(s) of investigation	Techniques	Public response	Notes
Phase 1	Apr27th – Jun 12th 2008 (7 weeks)	opinion on the project, its benefits and related concerns	• 25,000 participation packs (questionnaires + brochures) • Website	2612 participants 10,000 website visitors	41.8% of the responses to the questionnaire were from the faculties
Phase 2	Aug 31st – Oct 9th 2008 (6 weeks)	route options and construction styles	• 20,000 participation packs (questionnaires + brochures) • Website	2660 participants (400 online) 12,000 website visitors since establishment	
Phase 3	Jan 27th - Feb 24th 2009 (4 weeks)	more local issues and project impacts	• Unidentified number of participation packs (questionnaires + brochures) • Exhibition in Al-Hijaz Station at 12.00-7.00 pm • Public meeting on Feb 24th 2009 at 12.00 pm with representatives from: Traffic and transport engineering directorate The international consultants in charge of the study (SYSTRA/Khatib & Alami) • Several meetings with: NGOs Environmental associations Traffic and urban planning engineers Metro users (public meeting) Heads of sub-municipalities Relevant authorities	No report of this has been issued	

Source: The author, using information published on the Green Line website

5.3.3 An organisational overview

Both the local authority and the academic views[147] on the decision-making for this development are very much related to organisational issues. First, the executive decision became highly centralised and this is "due to the concern whether this development will fulfil its targeted purpose and due to its high expenses..... and no decision has been reached yet, whether it is a priority for prompt execution or a later on step [in the long term]" (interview with Ayasoo, 2010).

According to Abdullah Abood, the director of the transport department (TD) in GoD, the delay in the development process is not merely due to issues related to cost. A huge delay is caused because of institutional difficulties related to the lack of coordination between the different planning authorities on one hand and even between the different departments of the same authority. In this, issues of traffic problems are dealt with in TD and this is done independently from the environmental issues which are the concern of the environmental department in the governorate. This separation in responsibilities and lack of coordination between the governorate departments had resulted in the overlap and delay in the development decisions.

The local authority (GoD) related the delay to a third reason; and this is the introduction of a strategic level study for the Damascus region, which is the city and its surrounding areas. In this, a comprehensive vision of traffic issues is supposed to be introduced and it is planned that the metro development will be looked at within a whole network of transportation means to serve the entire region. Therefore, the development is no longer a priority to the governorate which claims the necessity to develop basic public transportation before considering a metro development (this is according to the director of TD and the head of UPD in GoD)[148]. A detailed institutional analysis for the development will be introduced in the following chapter.

[147] This is based on reported interviews with the director of the transport department (TD) in GoD Abdullah Abood and the chair of the rail transport department at Damascus University Dr. Omayra. The interviews are reported in Kadem (2011). This is in addition to the interviews held by the author with the local authority' officials.

[148] Abood claimed this during an interview reported in Kadem (2011) and Ayasoo emphasised the same issue when he was interviewed by the author in 2010 as he said "... However, this has not been a priority for Damascus governorate as the city's transportation system is being studied [especially the public transport system] in relation to the city as a whole".

5.3 Bottom-up participation in urban development - Qassyoon informal settlement

5.3.1 An overview of the development - Informal settlements: uncontrolled expansion without planning

Informal development has become common in Damascus and a socially accepted culture within all community groups at different levels of affluence. The term 'informal' development has been defined as 'illegal' development which has one or more characteristics of disagreement on land ownership and/or registration; being in contravention of the master-plan land-use zoning regulations; and/or planning standards and building codes not being met (Abdin, et al., 2008 p. 8; Wakely, et al., 2009 p. 5; MAM, 2008 pp. 9-10).

People usually engage in this type of development using a variety of informal processes. One process is land grabbing or squatting on underdeveloped land and this is usually sought by people of low income and often takes place along the city's expansion routes inside or outside the master plan boundaries. The second process is via the purchase of subdivided agricultural land by people of different levels of affluence within or, in most cases, outside the master plan boundaries. The third process is densification of existing settlements by adding floors or building in public spaces and in the areas between the old city and the new town, and this is usually also carried out by people of different levels of affluence (Wakely, et al., 2009; Wakely, et al., 2010; Abdin, et al., 2008).

When informal development is a group action[149], it results in what are known as 'informal settlements' and these are usually carried out by people of medium and low income using the first type of process described above, in and around the city along its main expansion routes without formal land planning or public utilities as shown in Figure 5-4 (Abdin, 2008b; Abdin, et al., 2008; Toutounji, 1999 p. 4). These settlements, however, are associated with negative social behaviour[150]; and this is in fact the case in some settlements. Yet, there is significant evidence of law-abiding, well laid-out and

[149] Here, a group action is meant to be the action taken by a significant number of people during the same time span.

[150] Such as 'criminality', 'social deprivation', 'lack of civic awareness and anti-social behaviour' (Wakely, et al., 2009).

safely constructed neighbourhoods and socially cohesive communities in many informal settlements in the city[151] (Wakely, et al., 2009).

Figure 5-4: Informal settlements in Damascus

Source: (Fakoush, 2009)

Informal settlement is a result of the unplanned rapid urbanisation Damascus city is experiencing[152]. This in turn is due to rapid population growth (see Table A5-2 in Appendix 5-4) resulting from high maternity rates; rural-to-urban migration; internal population displacement; and international migration and influx of refugees[153] (Fakoush, 2009; MAM, 2008; Toutounji, 1999). The absence of regional planning and a balanced comprehensive vision of the city's development coupled with the complexity of the planning system has contributed to the inadequacy of the development plans and housing strategies targeted for the city. This is in addition to reasons related to ESD leniency in managing informal development (see Table A5-1 in Appendix 5-3); conflict and isolation among planning authorities; time consuming and outdated development

[151] A example of this is Al-Muhajereen (Qassyoon) and Mezeh (86) informal settlements. No reference of the exact number of residences in each settlement was found at the time of the research.

[152] Informal settlements mostly occur in three main cities, Damascus with 48 settlements, Aleppo with 23 settlements and Homs with 19 settlements (SCP, 2010). No reference of the exact number of residences in each settlement was found at the time of the research.

[153] These are explained in detail in Chapter three.

plans and the late (if any) input of the targeted community (Abdin, et al., 2008; MAM, 2008; MAM, 2005).

The academic view of the reasons for this focuses on the absence of balanced regional planning to provide distribution of services and activities around the country rather than centralising these in one or two cities. Another reason is related to the high land value within the city centre, which pushes the public to look for alternatives within more affordable areas (Abdin, 2008b; Abdin, et al., 2008; SCP, 2010; Toutounji, 1999). On the other hand, the local government argues that the reason is due to the effect of Acquisition Law 60/1979 which basically gives the state the right to acquire land within and around the city on the basis of very small compensation rather than buying it on the open market. This urges the existing land owners to sell their land before it is acquired by the state, in order to gain more profit[154] turning more than 50% of land registered as empty estate into informal settlements (SCP, 2010; MAM, 2005).

The case study chosen for this research is the informal settlement in Qassyoon which has a population of 250,000 (Al-Watan, 2011) (see Figure 5-4 for location and Figure 5-5 for site plan).

5.3.2 The development process – community-led planning

Informal development in Qassyoon goes back to the 1920s when development was first started by a number of original Damascus residents during the French colonial period as a result of the 'military planning' method of the French where they tended to develop wide straight streets and a new building type for housing and other facilities (Elsheshtawy, 2004). This was seen by a number of residents to be an outsider type of land-use that does not reflect their identity and needs. This led these residents to move out of the central city and search for new locations along the Al-Salihya axis (Figure 5-5) which was considered the key social, educational and religious heart of the city. These residents tended at the beginning to buy land from private owners and build their houses themselves in a similar type to those within the old city.

[154] This creates the opportunity for fraud as one plot of land can be sold several times to different people. In addition, these informal selling activities are usually not registered in the real estate records and consequently no tax is paid to the authorities.

The area changed dramatically after 1948 as it was the destination of considerable numbers of refugees from southern Syria. These, however, followed other more informal ways to develop their dwellings as they settled in groups on public land, subdivided this among themselves without any form of payment and then started to develop their houses. Further refugees came to the area after the 1967 war. This increased the size, density and pace of spread of informal settlements on public land. In addition, a number of informal land sales took place as the previous residents sold the land which they originally invaded, bought by the new comers, and this was done either by the traditional land owners themselves or by local vendors[155]. This is in addition to densifying the existing built form by adding additional floors and subdividing the rooms (Fakoush, 2009; Wakely, et al., 2010; supported by the research interviews).

Figure 5-5: Qassyoon Quarter site plan

Source: (Fakoush, 2009)

The informal development process in the area took a further complex turn in the 1980s when the area was no longer considered to be outside Damascus but a part of the city, and more rural immigrants along with low income Damascenes increased the general demand for housing. This caused the emergence of informal estate agents and developers[156] who gave development in the area the nature of an informal functioning market (reflecting on Wakely, et al., 2010; and supported by the interviews).

[155] A further explanation of these and their roles is provided in Appendix 5-5.
[156] A further explanation of these is provided in Appendix 5-5.

In this, it is important to note that the owners of the land that has become an informal settlement (whether this ownership is legal or illegal) play an important role in the urban development process by determining location and setting basic layouts (MAM, 2005 p. 6). Once the land is subdivided and built, informal mechanisms are developed for resolving minor boundary disputes between neighbours and providing services. In 1987, GoD issued a decision to provide the area with services which then increased the demand for housing in the area and played a major role in its expansion to date to cover a total area of 367 ha (Abdin, et al., 2008) with a population of 250,000 (Al-Watan, 2011) (Figure 5-6 shows the expansion of the settlement since the 1940s). In addition, high demand caused a considerable rise in the prices of building materials and especially an increase in land value within the area despite ownership being informal.

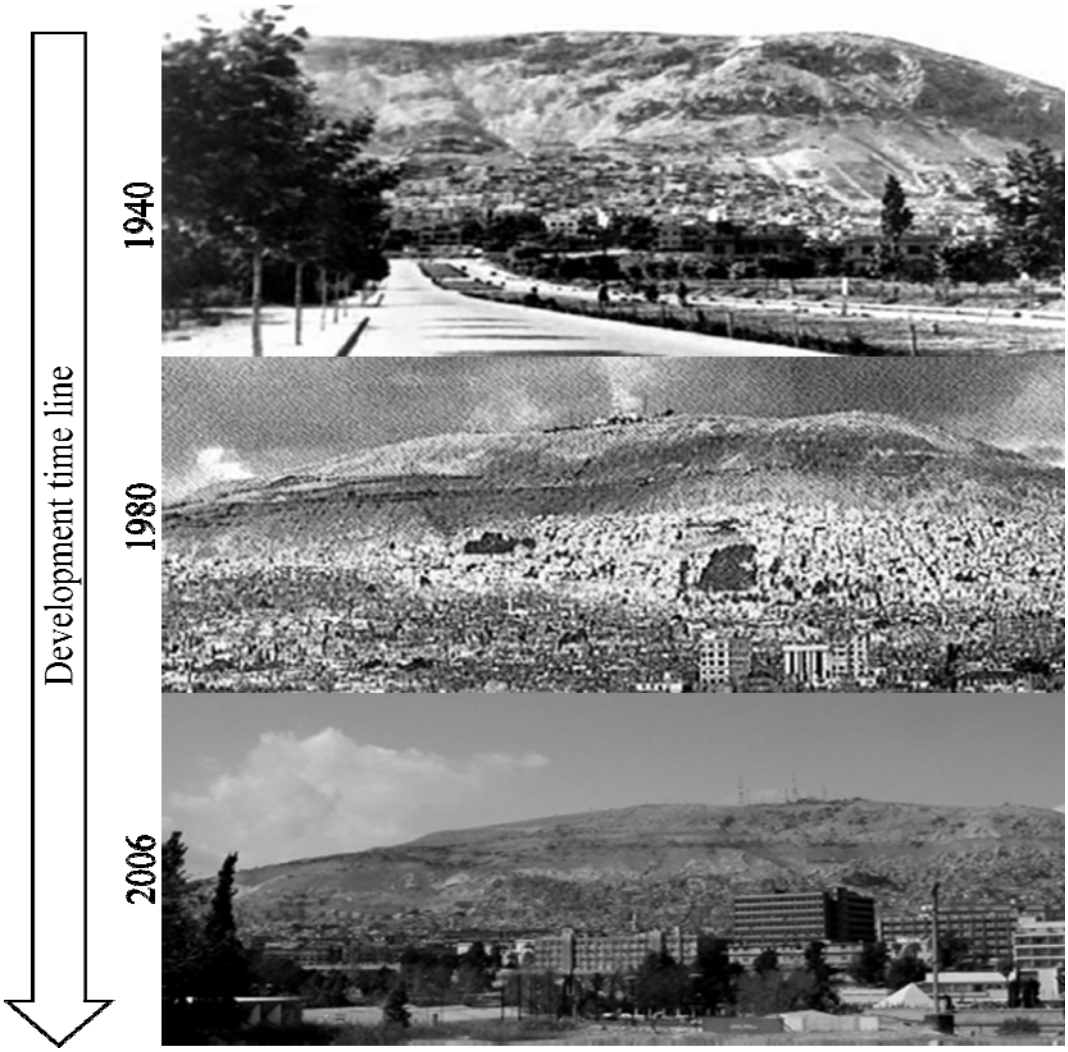


Figure 5-6: Qassyoon informal settlements development time-line

Source: The author, using data available in (Fakoush, 2009)

The urban structure of the area does not meet all the needs of its residents due to issues related to a lack of safety and convenience in movement, poor traffic circulation and parking provision and shortage of education, health and green space facilities (see Figure 5-7 and Figure 5-8 to illustrate the urban structure of the dwellings) (MAM, 2005). Nonetheless, the area is well known for its socially cohesive communities as these co-operate to enhance their neighbourhoods via collective cleaning; shopping delivery and other social activities to overcome the lack of services (research interviews).

Figure 5-7: Qassyoon informal settlements

Source: (Fakoush, 2009)

Figure 5-8: Movement and parking spaces within Qassyoon settlements

Source: (Abdin, 2008a)

The area of Qassyoon informal settlement has been targeted for re-development in detailed studies since the early 2000s. However, only a few developers applied for the study contract and none was accepted due to lack of proper qualifications or high contract expenses that exceeded 2.235 million EUR as estimated by GoD (Al-Thawra, 2008). However, several dwellings in the area were reported by the local residents as having collapsed. Therefore, GoD has stopped all re-development proposals and contracted with MAM to provide a detailed study of the geological status of the area to define the reason for collapses and the possible solutions to prevent fatal incidents (ForSyria, 2008).

A study report prepared in 2008 by MAM and the General Company for Geological Studies (GCGS) proved the existence of two rifts and a number of caves that threaten the safety of a number of dwellings in the area (see Figure 5-9). These are estimated to affect four thousand families, who are planned to be relocated (see Figure 5-10). For this, GoD has signed a contract with the General Housing Company (GHC) to provide 3,000 units in Al-Dimas Area where social services are being constructed (ForSyria, 2008; Al-Thawra, 2008).

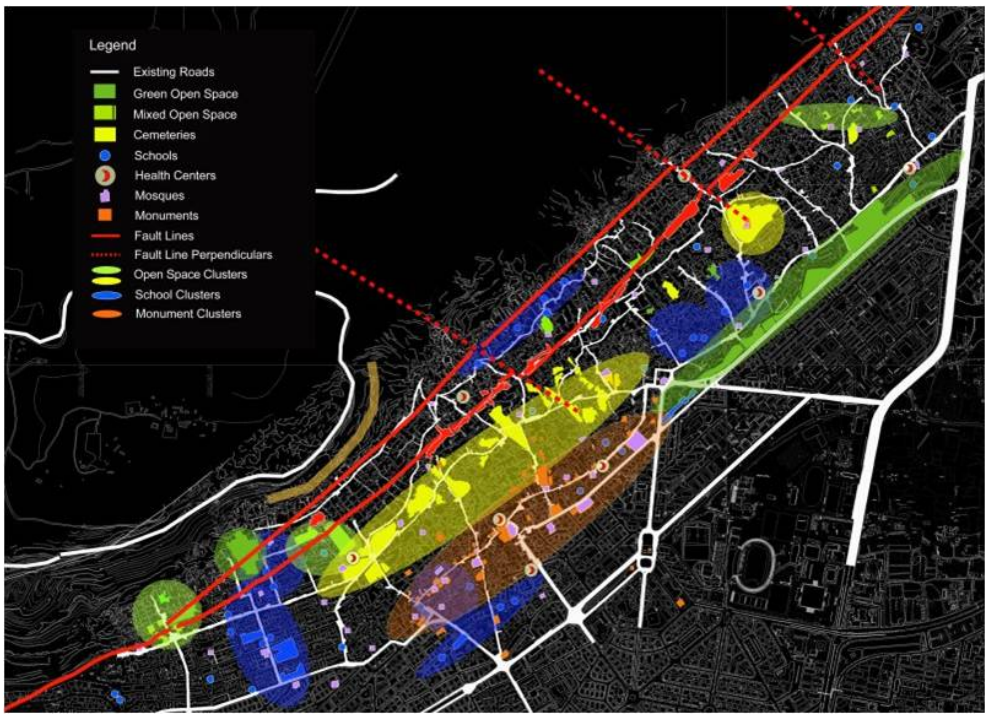


Figure 5-9: The existing uses in Qassyoon informal settlements showing the location of the rift lines
Source: Prepared by MAM in 2008 and collected by the author on a visit to MoLA in Damascus

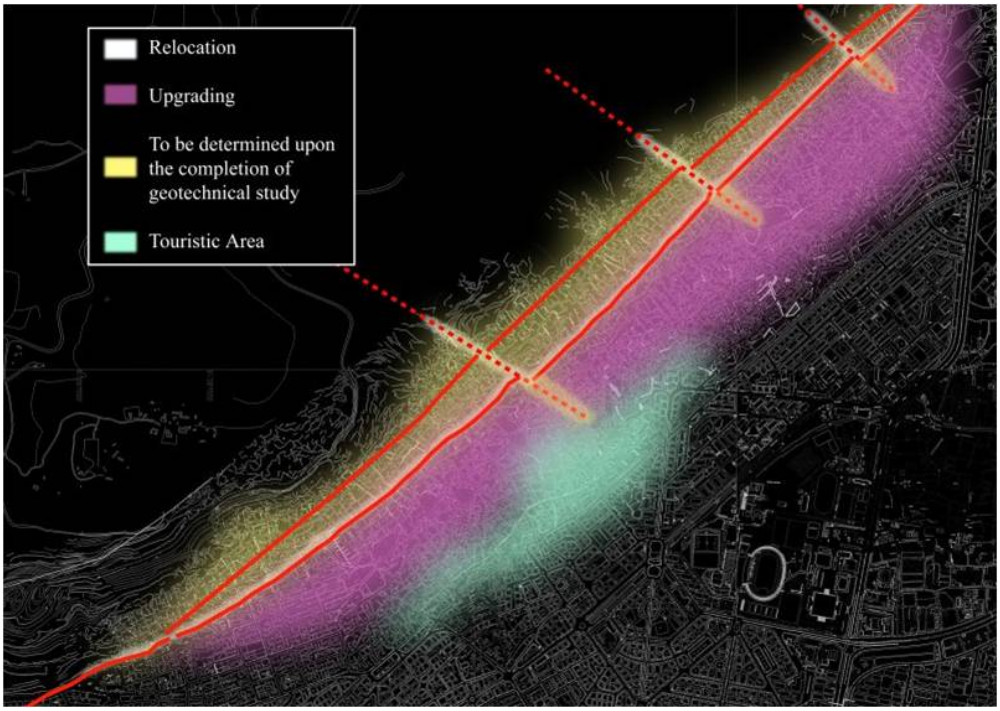


Figure 5-10: The initial suggested development scenarios for the Qassyoon informal settlements area
Source: Prepared by MAM in 2008 and collected by the author on a visit to MoLA in Damascus

MAM proposed a development scenario which was mainly based on a purely professional vision. However, input from the community was sought via arranged meetings with the local community in cooperation with The Women's Union (WU). Local women were invited to a meeting in one of the local schools in the area on 15th-June-2008 and a discussion took place on their main concerns related to services needed for the area listed for upgrade, and the consequences for the residents identified for relocation. In addition, a current status survey was implemented in cooperation with the Youth Union (YU) in order to document the current population, construction status of the dwellings, services needed and general concerns. A copy of the survey sheet is provided in Appendix 5-6. The survey was also used to gather information in relation to the general local perception of the development in terms of height, services, transportation solutions and any issues that affect their neighbourhoods.

The YU, in addition, arranged (via its local branch) an awareness campaign on issues related to recycling, environment and well being by distributing flyers on door steps and holding art exhibitions in the local elementary schools in the area. This does not have a direct effect on the informal development process in the area nor on the MAM study but it is mentioned here to reflect the type of function formal SCOs have in the area.

5.3.3 An organisational overview - The state's position of the development and the community's reaction to the state's proposals

The most recent law which deals with informal settlements is Law 33 of the year 2008[157] which is concerned with regulating land ownership within such settlements. For this, several study committees have been formed to register and document informal settlement areas. This is to provide documents related to the current situation in these areas, to legalise land ownership and prepare recent statistics as background data that can be used when investing in these areas under Law 15 year 2008, which is concerned with real estate investment in co-operation with the private sector.

The central government, and this is reflected by urban planning director in MoLA Eng. Hassan Jnidan, considers that these laws contribute to enhancing these areas and improving the whole city's image. The local authority (GoD), however, has a different view as it sees Law 33/2008 as scattering land ownership and, consequently, creating conflict in any future development decisions (SCP, 2010). Therefore, GoD has not started working in accordance to this law to date (Al-Thawra, 2009). Alternatively, GoD has been following other strategies in dealing with informal settlements since 1960 up until 2000 in accordance with Law 44 which is basically aimed at demolishing any informal development[158]. This was acceptable during the first few years of its application when the real estate market was different from its condition now and informal settlements were not as dominant as they currently are[159]. However, in 1987 the GEO in GoD agreed to provide informal settlements with services and infrastructure. This is seen by a number of officers in the governorate as having contributed to the increase of the informal settlements phenomenon. Others believe that the main reason is the absence of a comprehensive vision for planning, and the failure of housing policies under the circumstances of the dramatic increase of land value and the city's population (SCP, 2010; supported by the interviews).

[157] A summarised review of this law is included in Appendix A3-12.

[158] A copy of this law document was given out to the author during the first field trip to Damascus via the planning department at Damascus University. A copy of this is available at http://www.damascusbar.org/arabic/law_lib1/Syr_law/structure_group/structure_22.htm.

[159] In 2000, residents of informal settlements were estimated to form 30% of the total population of Damascus city (Fakoush, 2009; Toutounji, 1999; Abdin, et al., 2008). This is while 50% of the total population of Damascus and its rural surrounding live in informal settlements (SCP, 2010).

Informal settlements studies, under GoD Council decision of 1980, are the duty of the ESD, as this prepares the development plans for these areas. The area targeted by development is then acquired under Law 26/2000 for re-development. The first area this was applied to was Street 30 West (shown in Figure 5-1) where infrastructure works for re-development are planned to take place in 2012 and to be funded by EIB. Similar studies for different informal settlements areas in the city are also carried out by national and international private parties under contract with GoD (e.g. MAM, K&A, Tercon, Malaysian study group) (Abdin, 2008b; SCP, 2010). This strategy for re-development of informal settlements is seen by GoD to be more professional and as potentially having a positive outcome (SCP, 2010).

The re-development of these areas follows one of three strategies. The first is to upgrade the area when basic infrastructure and safety measures are met in the development. The second is to totally re-develop the area. The third is a mixture of both upgrading and demolishing within the same area ((SCP, 2010) and research interviews). The residents whose dwellings are to be demolished are due to be paid compensation by the governorate. This can be in the form of an alternative dwelling[160] or a sum of money (SCP, 2010; and research interviewees). This is after applying Law 33/2008 to register ownership. Afterwards, the area is offered for investment under law 15/2008, as around 100 private national and international parties are acknowledged to be interested in such investments[161] (SCP, 2010).

This process, however, is seen to be time consuming as it takes up to 20 years to finalise legalisation of ownership and up to 7 years to finalise development studies for these areas. Meanwhile, informal settlements are consolidated on a daily basis due to government failure to provide suitable housing solutions that suit the generally low incomes of the residents. Therefore, the public look for alternative ways to satisfy their housing needs. In this, the draft national housing strategy, prepared in co-operation with UNDP, shows that informal settlement areas in the whole country have increased by 200% between 1994 and 2004 and these are mostly centred in Damascus and Aleppo. This high demand for housing has set land values in Damascus skyrocketing to become

[160] There is a plan to house 4,000-5,000 families who live on the rift line in Qassyoon. They are to be relocated in Marabaa (SCP, 2010).
[161] This is according to Eng. Yaser Al-Sibaai the director of the Real Estate Development Commission (SCP, 2010).

the 8th most expensive city in the world in terms of real estate (SCP, 2010) with 30% of its population living in informal self-developed settlements that cover 1/3 of its total area (Fakoush, 2009).

Qassyoon residents have been in the area for over 40 years now and have established their own socially accepted rules for self-development. These are based on horizontal networks that have links to all society forces, as the survey carried out by Abdin, et al in 2008 proved. In fact, 80% of the informal developments have been carried out in cooperation with the SD, which is the local mechanism of development law enforcement. These arrangements are usually carried out by informal developers and agents and in some cases via locally accepted representatives - only in very rare cases by the residents themselves. In addition, building materials are provided by private parties to whole-salers, who in turn supply individuals. These areas are not known to have a formal community representation and the meeting held with individuals from the women community for MAM development purpose is seen as being a one-off participation opportunity due to the development being sponsored by EIB. It has been reported that the locals objected strongly to the relocation, despite being aware of the life threatening position of their dwellings (Al-Watan, 2011).

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has given a general overview of the new attempts from the GoD to benefit from new experiences in different levels of development studies in Damascus. Thus, several international parties have contracted with GoD to carry out a number of pilot projects where new methods of development decision-making have been employed. In this, participation took place at different levels. These were either driven by the planning authority where a number of techniques were employed during the study period in what is called top-down participation, or the process was already started by the public themselves in a way that hugely shaped the development and then planning authorities were informed of the development and its need for upgrade leading to engagement with residents in what is called bottom-up participation. Two case studies have been chosen to provide a better understanding of these two models of civil society participation. The case studies in summary are:

- *Damascus metro Green Line*, a macro level development on the city level where a top-down participation process took place. The development was sponsored by EIB and studied by SYSTRA and K&A under the patronage of GoD. The development studies started in 2008 when a three phase participation process was launched where different participation mechanisms were used. The development process has been seized at the moment due to issues related to centralisation in decision-making in relation to investment options; lack of coordination among related authorities; and change in local development priorities in the vision of GoD for the future of the city.

- *Qassyoon informal settlement*, which goes back in its origins to the 1920s but started to take its informal form after 1948 as a result of the invasion of municipal land and gradually got more complicated in its process up to the 1980s to take its current informal market status. The development is self-developed by its local community via horizontal webs of relations where land access and building is carried out by informal developers and agents who are well established with the local authorities on one hand to facilitate land allocation and law tolerance, and with the private sector on the other for building materials and service supply. The local residents are under constant threat from Law 26/2000, although Law 33/2008 has given a sense of ease to them, but this is seen by the local authorities to be time consuming and non beneficial. Therefore, currently, the local community still live with the fear of evacuation whenever the area is offered for development under Law 15/2008. Although the MAM study has facilitated some form of formal participation in the area via the local branches of WU and YU (NGOs), this is not a regular process but a request from the study party as the development is sponsored by EIB.

Both case studies suggest an interest in greater input from the local community in the developments targeted to their areas and some reduction in centralisation of development decision-making. Nonetheless, the case studies involve two different forms and levels of civil society participation in urban development. The first is facilitated by the development authorities using the formal vertical structure of civil society, whereas the second is based on the horizontal structure of civil society and

facilitated by the local community itself in an informal form. In this, initial answers have been provided to research questions 1.4, 2.1 and 2.3 presented in the introduction of this chapter. However, a deeper understanding of the key forces involved in these developments, their networks of relations and the effect of their mental models and organisational structures is provided in the following analysis in Chapter six.

Chapter six: Civil society participation in urban development in Damascus

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a critical analysis of the civil society participation process taking place in relation to the two case studies introduced in Chapter five. This is designed to answer the following research questions:

1.4 What type of governance, state-market-civil society relationship, currently exists in Syria?
2.1 What form of urban development organisation currently exists in Syria?
2.3 What participation mechanisms currently exist in Syria in terms of urban development?

These were partly answered in chapters three and five. However, they are further investigated in this chapter. The results arrived at in the analysis provide an empirical base to address the same questions in the following chapter but on a national level using extrapolation and inductive analysis[162]. Furthermore, the results of the analysis contribute to answering the third objective research questions below and thus to arriving at the research recommendations in Chapter eight. The questions are:

3.1 How applicable are civil society participation policies, as promoted by the UNDP, to the urban development institutional context in Syria?
3.2 Which areas can be developed in the urban development institutional context in Syria in order to establish a long term collaborative governance context especially in terms of state-civil society relationship?
3.3 What alternative, potentially more efficient, participation mechanisms can be adapted within the urban development organisational forms in Syria?

[162] This was discussed in detail in Chapter four of the research methodology and data collection methods.

A review of the theoretical background and an example of the analysis method used are presented at the beginning of the chapter. This is followed by the application of the method to the data collected regarding each case study. This is applied in accordance with the sequence of the analytical framework adapted for this research as presented in Chapter two.

In this, the analysis focuses on two themes: the urban development actors and their spheres of relationship – in other words, the urban development governance context on one hand; and their urban institutional structure, in terms of both the mental models and the organisational forms, on the other. Following this, a comparison of the analysis in relation to the case studies is presented in order to derive the key findings that can be extrapolated in Chapter seven to provide an understanding of the civil society participation process in urban development on the national level in Syria.

6.2 Method of analysis

6.2.1 Theoretical considerations

This has been discussed in detail in Chapter four of this thesis. Table 6-1 provides a reminder of the stages of the data analysis process and the purpose of each stage. An example of the application of this process was previously presented in Appendix 4-9.

Table 6-1: Qualitative data analysis process

Stage	Stage components	Purpose
Open coding	Categorising data through the use of codes derived from the data received from the interviewees.	Identifying key points (actors and relationships) in data
Concepts formation	Comparing codes and abstraction of data dimensions and properties	Collecting codes of similar content to group data
Themes induction	Defining related properties and inducting key patterns or groups of populations or events.	Gathering the concepts that present the properties and dimensions of a particular typology of a theme
Theoretical sampling	Examining the themes arrived at in relation to theory to position findings within the wider related literature	Collecting theoretical explanations of the research themes

Source: The author[163]

[163] This has been developed using the process descriptions in Cassell, et al. (2004); Gilbert (1993); Harvey (2005); Strauss, et al. (1990); Miles, et al. (1994); Strauss, et al. (2008); and Spiggle (1994).

6.2.2 Urban development actors and their spheres of relationship

This is the first theme of the research. It concerns an understanding of the governance context for urban development processes in the case studies introduced in Chapter five. This has contributed to answering research questions 1.4 and 2.1. This understanding is then expanded to a national level in the following Chapter seven.

This theme was discussed through studying two key factors. These are as described earlier in the analytical framework in Chapter two (Figure 2-6):

- the main **actors** in the process of urban development decision-making; and
- the **relationship** among these actors in terms of where the *links* are and of what *type*.

These two factors are shown in the form of a diagram where the actors are shown as circles (see Figure 6-1). This is similar to the figure used to show the state-market-civil society relationship in Figure 2-3. The actors within the three spheres of society were introduced earlier in Chapter two. These are documented in the related context literature, and reported by the interviewees, to be, first, the state (and this refers to all governmental organisations and their local and international partners[164] including central government, local authorities, government-owned corporation (GOCs[165]), international agencies and universities); second, the private sector (firms and individuals); and third, civil society organisations (public unions, community-based organisations (CBOs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs)). In case one of the actors involves more than one party, this is unpacked in the diagram.

The relationships among these are shown in the form of arrows. The direction of the arrow reflects the direction of effect (e.g. from local government to community-based

[164] An example of the local partners are the universities, and of the international partners the UNDP. This is in addition to any other local or international party that is involved in the study or funding of any development program in the country. These are considered to belong to the state's sphere because they operate according to the state's agenda.

[165] "GOCs should be differentiated from other forms of government agencies established to pursue non-financial objectives that have no need or goal of satisfying the shareholders with return on their investment". "GOCs can be fully... or partially owned by Government". "However, it is difficult to determine what level of state ownership would qualify an entity to be considered as "state-owned", since governments can also own regular stock, without implying any special interference" (Webster's, 2010). GOCs are functional in Syria in different fields. These include railway, airlines, public transport, oil, gas, healthcare, education, infrastructure, housing, mail and media.

organisation, this means that the former affects the latter) and the kind of effect is written on the top of the arrow. The thickness of the arrow reflects the number of interviewees reported on this link (see Table 6-2), as supported by focus group reports or observation notes.

Table 6-2: Illustrative arrows for links among actors

	1-5	interviewees
	6-10	interviewees
	11-15	interviewees
	16-20	interviewees

Source: The author

The type of relationships can be either vertical or horizontal. A vertical relationship is of a formal type and can be among actors from the same sphere or from different spheres. This type of relationship is shown using the arrows explained above. The horizontal relationship, however, is of an informal type and also occurs among actors from the same or different spheres. This is shown using dashed arrows with thicknesses similar to those shown above.

It is important to know that some analysis findings are applicable to all the case studies, especially those related to contextual issues (e.g. the general perception of civil society across social spheres). These are discussed thoroughly when first mentioned but only referred to when mentioned more than once. This theme discussed the following concepts[166]:

1.a) the understanding of the concept of 'civil society' across society spheres;
1.b) the level of representation of civil society within the planning authorities; and
1.c) the level of effect on land-use decision-making.

These were investigated by the first question of the semi-structured interview. The second question was to understand the following concepts:

[166] Each group of concepts is investigated by one of the semi-structured interview questions shown in Appendix 4-6. Each key concept is analysed through the understanding of a number of sub-concepts. These are shown in relation to the main theme being discussed. The sub-concepts are numbered using a number and a letter. The number is to identify the related interview question and the letter is in accordance with the sequence being asked to the interviewees. These are shown in detail in Appendix 6-1.

2.a) the position of society spheres' actors from civil society participation; and
2.b) the perception of the participation implementation responsibilities across society spheres (who should be responsible for implementing the process).

This is while the fourth question was to investigate the concept 4.a) of the effect of civil society needs on the state's function of market regulations. The fifth question was to focus on the Damascus metro development case study where top-down civil society participation took place. This was to understand the nature of the society spheres involved in the related decision-making and the nature of relationships between them. This was through investigating the following concepts:

5.a) the degree of civil society inclusion in the process of participation; and
5.b) society spheres' perceptions of the importance of the public consultation process as a part of land-use decision-making.

The sixth interview question was to focus of the nature of society spheres and their relationships within an example of a bottom-up civil society participation process which took place in relation to Qassyoon informal settlement development. In this, the following concepts were investigated:

6.a) the reasons for informal development:
6.b) the perception across society spheres of the informal settlements communities as a form of civil society:
6.c) the perception across society spheres of the informal settlements communities' effect on the process of land-use decision-making:
6.d) the state's policy towards the informal settlements: and
6.e) the potential effect of civil society participation on controlling the spread of informal settlements.

These concepts are mainly concerned about the urban development 'actors' and their 'relationships'. These are the two key factors this theme studied in order to provide a better understanding of the urban development governance context and the position of civil society in this in terms of land-use decision-making.

6.2.3 Urban development institutional analysis

This is the second theme for this research and answers the research questions 2.1 and 2.3 in this chapter and contributes to answering the same questions on the national level in the following Chapter seven. The analysis in this theme builds on the analysis of the urban development governance context (actors and relationships) introduced previously, as the actors' relationships that provide a possibility for civil society participation have already been identified in bold on the diagrams used to analyse the previous theme. Here, however, the analysis is taken further to understand the institutional[167] context of these relationships.

In this, in each case study, for each link described as 'participation' in its governance context diagram discussed under the first theme as explained above, issues of available participation 'tools' or 'resources' have been examined to understand the mental models and organisational forms involved in the participation process of civil society, or any of its components, that took place. This discussion is an expansion on what has already been introduced in brief in Chapter five. The analysis here has drawn on the interviews, observations and literature.

This analysis examines the levels of influence/power among the actors involved in each case study. This is through discussing the mental models affecting the processes of participation, whether these are formal via urban development laws and regulations or informal via convention, traditions or culture. Subsequently, the organisational space where participation took place is discussed by examining the organisational structure of the actors' institutions involved in the process and where these have intersected. This has been carried out with the assistance of 'the wheel of participation' developed by South Lanarkshire Council (1999) (shown in Figure 4-2 in Chapter four) in order to provide an understanding of the potential and limitations of the civil society participation process in each case study and, consequently, to derive a vision of the expected or actual outcomes of each case.

[167] See the definition of institutionalism provided in Chapter two.

In this, the following concepts are discussed. These are shown along with their relevant interview questions in Appendix 6-1:

2.c) the availability of a mechanism to monitor civil society participation attempts currently taking place.

This concept is investigated as a part of the second question of the interview which aims to understand the general perspective of the society actors of the process of civil society participation, and investigating this concept is important in order to examine the availability of a comprehensive vision of the process and its future within the urban development context of the case studies. While the third question of the interview was to investigate the capacity of the society actors and their organisational structures to cope with the requirements of civil society participation process. In this, the following concepts were investigated:

3.a) the state's capacity needs
3.b) civil society's capacity needs
3.c) major barriers to participation
3.d) major opportunities to facilitate participation

Further detailed investigation of the challenges to the civil society participation process in land-use decision-making has been sought by the fifth and sixth interview questions. The fifth question investigated concept 5.c), which examined the challenges to the formal process of civil society participation in the light of the Damascus metro case study, while the sixth question investigated concept 6.f), which also examined the challenges to the process but in its informal form in the light of the second case study of Qassyoon informal settlement.

Each case study analysis is summarised in a table of the components of the actors involved; the institutional tools of participation in terms of both the mental models and the available organisational space; and the general outcome of the land-use decision-making process as shown in Table 6-3. This analysis has contributed to identifying obstacles and areas of weakness in the process of civil society participation in each case study, and the possible alternatives which exist in order to enhance the potential of the

process. In other words, the analysis of this theme has contributed to answering the research questions 2.2, 3.1 and 3.2 in the following chapter, in which the analysis is expanded to the national level.

Table 6-3: Institutional analysis summary applied to the case studies

Actors involved	**Institutional tools for participation**		**Outcome**
	Mental models	Organisational space available	
The names of the actors involved in the process	The formal laws and regulations or the informal conventions/culture that affected the process	Formal and informal participation tools used to facilitate participation, e.g. representatives in executive council, patronage, international donor, demonstration, personal relations...etc	The outcome of the functioning of the actors in the given institutional context

Source: The author

6.3 An analysis of land-use decision-making process in relation to the research case studies

6.3.1 Damascus metro green line case study

Actors and their spheres of relationship

This case study involves a top-down participation process. In this, the sequence of the process stages started with a development vision for the metro green line route prepared by K&A and SYSTRA study parties in partnership with GoD. The study was funded by EIB and was closely monitored by the central government via MoLA and MoT. The study provided a basic suggestion for the green line route with two options for the route location regarding the part that runs from the University campus to Sumaria (see Figure 5-3 in Chapter five) along with three options for construction methods for this part (underground, over ground, lifted).

The study was followed by a three-stage public consultation process. The need for this process was a matter of debate among development specialists from the central and local authorities[168]. This was due to claims of, first, the large scale of the development which caused difficulty in conveying its relevant information and purpose to the public and, second, the lack of the proper capacity needed in the authorities to facilitate a proper level of participation throughout the stages of the development. However, proceeding with the process was a central decision highly influenced by EIB as a funding party for this project and by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as an international development partner for Syria as a whole (see Figure 6-1).

[168] This was a debate during the focus group discussion with Marne-la-Vallée Master degree class held by the author on 11/04/10 at Damascus University during the second trip to Damascus(see Table A4-6 in Appendix 4-5). The interviewees provided very diverse feedback on this issue.

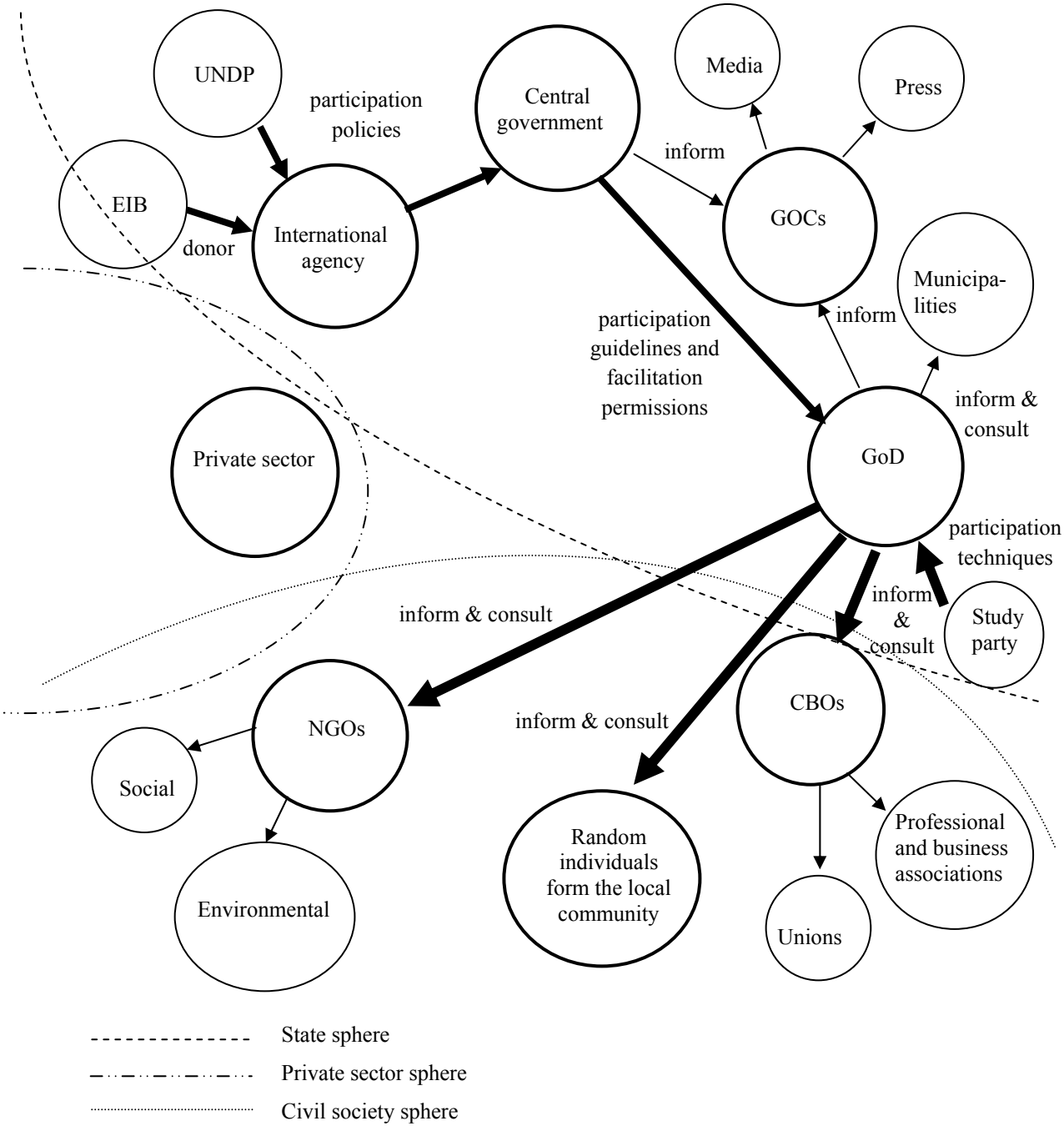


Figure 6-1: Damascus metro green line development: The participation process actors and their relationships

Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Permission for proceeding with the process was sent out from the central government to GoD to facilitate the process. Thus, meetings with different society parties were held. These were representatives of related authorities from the city municipalities and representatives of relevant CSOs and local CBOs. This was in addition to handing out

consultation packs to random individuals along the suggested route for the metro and holding a public exhibition and a complementary public meeting with the study party.

According to the primary data gathered for this research as shown in Figure 6-1 and Figure 6-2, this contact with the public was a demand from the donor EIB in order to proceed with the project's funding and was highly recommended by the study party and not a preference or recommendation from the state. This was explained by Ayasso, the head of the UPD in GoD, when interviewed by the author as follows:

> *"[Participation was carried out in the metro project] because it was studied by a foreign party which asked for it and not the state.... The studies schemes in Europe and other countries include participation as a stage and this was applied in Syria. But this is not something encouraged by the state as a preference or according to our development laws and regulations but according to the applied scheme in such developments abroad" (Ayasso, 12/04/10).*

However, the process was limited to informing the related authorities, CSOs and the public (at random) of the project to the extent that the process was considered essentially to be an advertisement for the development and a way to increase its general public appeal (see Figure 6-2). The consultation process took place during the feasibility study phase and was limited to the choice of one of the two options of route and the related construction option and this did not cause a major change to the development plans as these were already proposed.

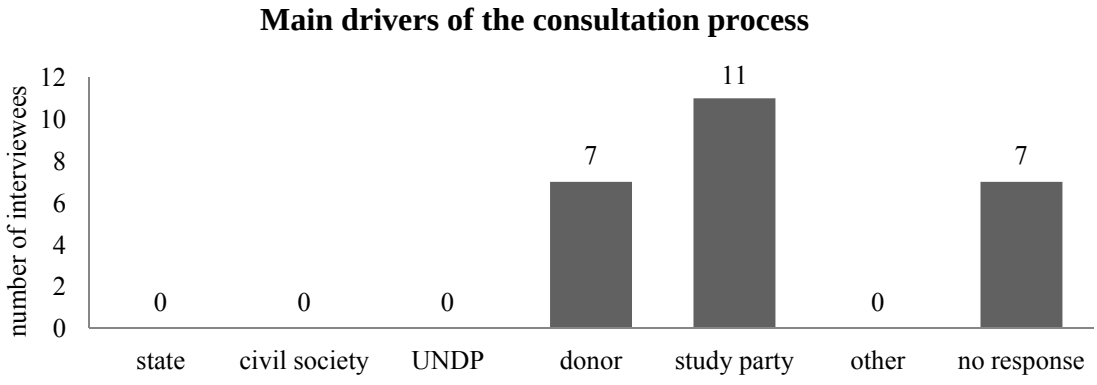


Figure 6-2: Main drivers of the consultation process in Damascus metro development
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

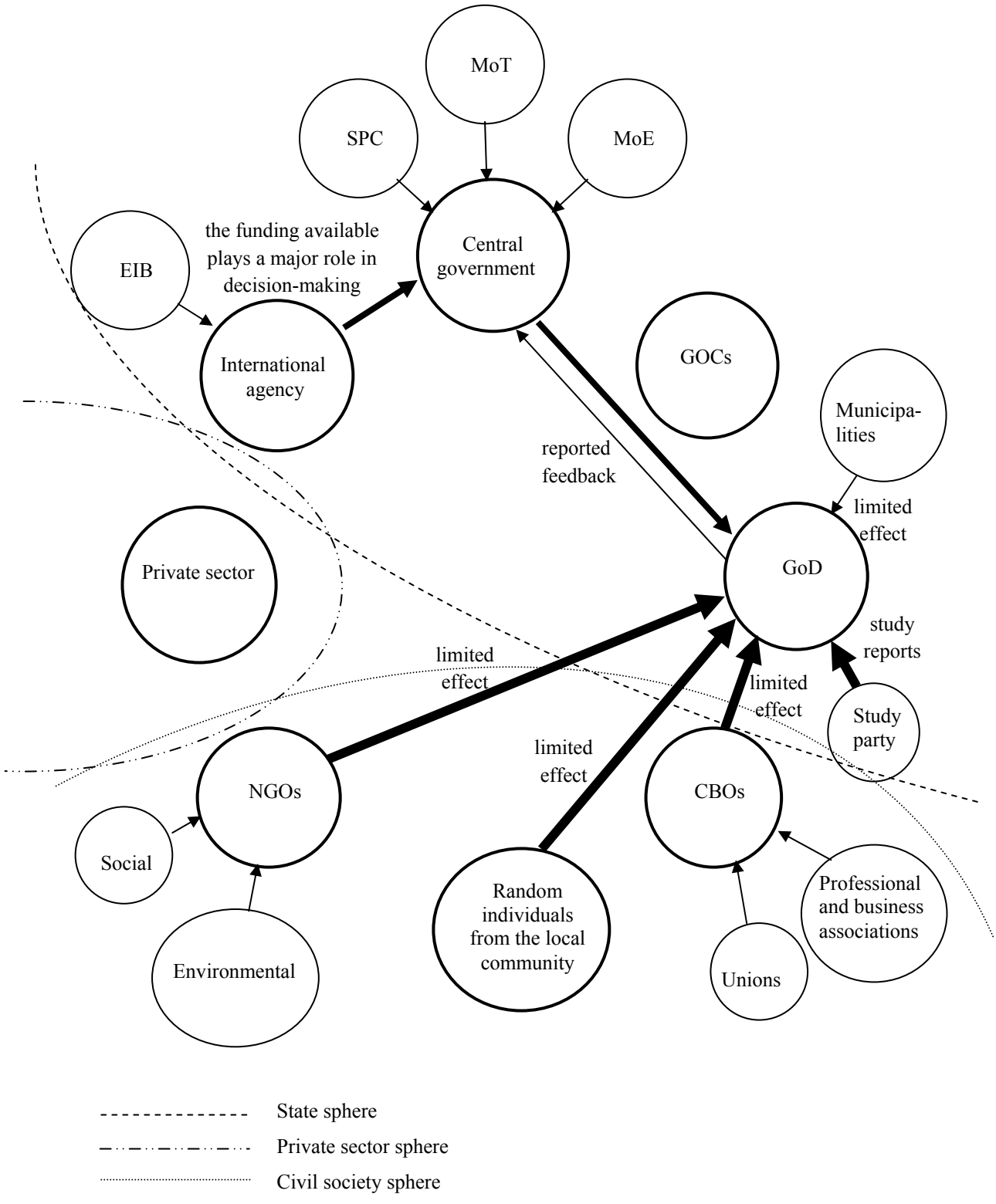


Figure 6-3: Damascus metro green line development: Land-use decision-making actors and their relationships

Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Despite the development being aimed at Damascus city, its related decisions were very central taken mainly in the MoLA and MoT with close coordination with the former SPC[169] as proceeding with the development is to a great extent related to the available funding options and execution partners. Besides, the decision to proceed with the development is related to issues of the city's image and its global ranking. Here, the existence of a comprehensive public transportation network is a key issue, and the metro is seen to be a part of this[170]. In this, the central government is considered to be the main actor in this development decision-making process with influence from the international party involved in funding the development studies and their execution.

The local government as part of GoD was only a facilitator of the central government guidelines and a processor of the development study plans and its related organisational commitments. A part of these was facilitating the public consultation process which was designed by the development study party and carried out by GoD. Yet, the consultation process[171] did not affect the development process or its related decisions. However, it was still seen by the interviewees to be a positive step in the long term towards more participatory development decision-making while others regarded it as an unnecessary step in similar developments. The following are examples quoted from the data provided by a number of these research interviewees to reflect on the perception of the consultation process which took place for the metro development.

> *"... The project decision is in the hands of the authorities no matter what anyone has said or will say" (Not to be named A.H,14/04/10).*

> *"... However,[....] participation did not affect the development, so it was just an act. Still, it is a step...Probably the decision-maker, although it has no reflection in this development, will apply it to later developments" (Atfeh 13/04/10).*

[169] This is currently called the Planning and International Cooperation Commission.
[170] This was a debate during the focus group discussion with Marne-la-Vallée Master degree class held by the author on 11/04/10 at Damascus University during the second trip to Damascus (see Table A4-6 in Appendix 4-5).
[171] The public consultation process was referred to as the participation process by most of the interviewees despite their awareness of the difference between these. The author used both expressions interchangeably when analysing the data.

The quotes reflect general agreement among society actors targeted by the interviews that Damascus metro development decisions were controlled by the central government while the local authorities were only facilitators of related workshops and paperwork. Other society actors (the private sector and the civil society) had no effect on key decisions. Therefore, the interviewees perceived the participation process to be an act to complete the international funding procedure requirements, and regardless of the outcome of it the development major decisions were taken on a national government level. The effect of other actors, if any, was limited to minor issues (shape, materials... etc).

This was not seen by the interviewees as a surprising outcome of the public consultation process, but rather an expected course of processing such development decisions. This is an outcome of the long tradition of central planning where land-use decisions are made by the central government and the local authorities facilitate these decisions on the local level. This is while the effect of other actors is either minor or absent.

According to data collected from actors in the private sector, the private sector was excluded from both the public engagement process and the decision-making process, making these exclusive to the planning authorities and civil society - effectively in the hands of the central government as shown in Figure 6-3. The private sector, however, was aware that the public engagement process was a response to the request of the funding party and considered that it did not affect the development decision-making processes. The following is an example of the responses of the interviewees from the private sector reflecting their shared views:

> *"I have no idea about the participation that took place, although I have an investment in the street where it is supposed to run, but still, no one has informed me or asked me to participate or even represented me when the opinions were formed. All I know is there will be a metro, but how and where or even when, I don't know. It is just an act in front of the international agencies funding the project" (Not to be named M.O, 22/04/10).*

The private members targeted by the interviews showed an interest in engaging in land-use decision-making in the city in general, especially those who have major retail

investments where such decisions affect the outcome of their investments. The private sector interviewees were not surprised, yet still disappointed, about being excluded from the consultation process. Besides, they were aware of such key decisions being central as an outcome of the nature of the central hierarchy planning process in the country.

Overall, therefore, civil society input in the decision-making of the development was, if there was any at all, minimal. No report of the meetings held with SCOs (whether these are NGOs or CBOs) was found at the time of doing this research. However, the interviewees from the central and local authorities reported that meetings were held mainly with NGOs with environmental interests. The individuals targeted by the process were very random and from different areas along the proposed route. These included communities of diverse levels of education, knowledge and interests. This caused the process to be far from inclusive (see Figure 6-4) making the consultation results unreliable and incapable of reflecting the true perception of the development among the targeted community.

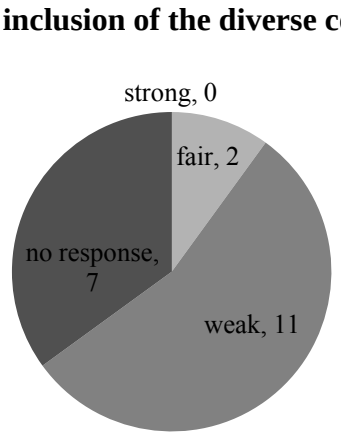


Figure 6-4: The degree of participation process inclusion in Damascus metro development
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

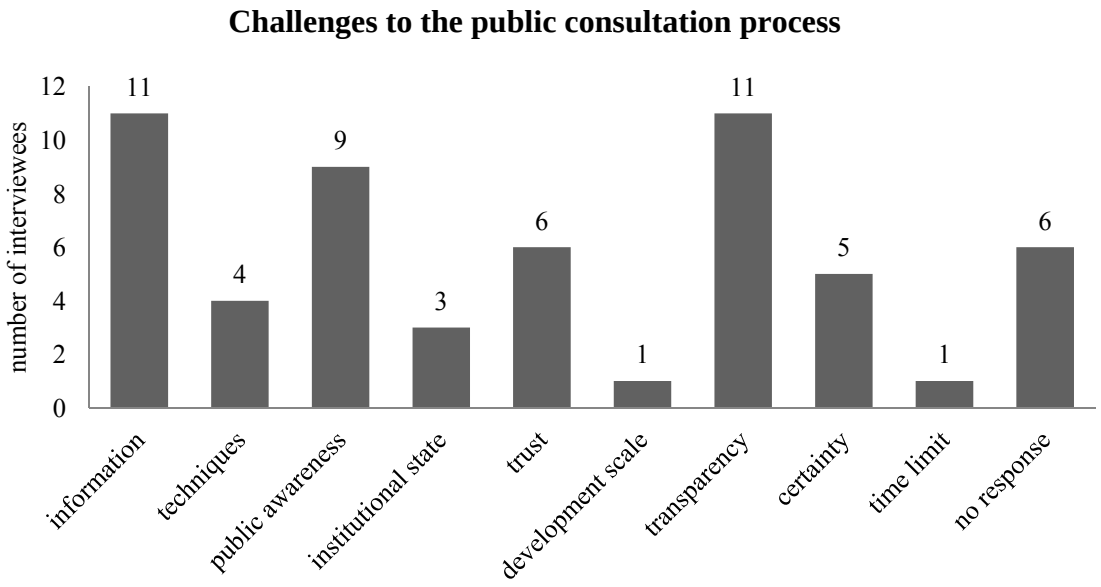


Figure 6-5: The key challenges to the participation process in Damascus metro development
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Figure 6-5 illustrates the main challenges faced by the public consultation process held for Damascus metro green line development as analysed using the process detailed in the methodology in Chapter four. The main issues that affected the process were related to the state's transparency and the resulting type of information released to the public. The information provided to the public was seen by the interviewees to be manipulative and misleading due to the fact that it only presented the positive general issues related to the development without going into detail about its related consequences of land acquisition, visual impact or even the cost of the travel around the city which is already estimated to be unaffordable for the majority of the public targeted by the development. This type of detailed information with a direct impact on the public was not released for consultation. The following are examples of the feedback received from the interviewees in relation to the state's transparency and the information provided to the public for consultation:

> *"... if the metro route was clear to people and they were informed that 43 residential buildings may be removed for this purpose, and asked those residents to participate, the participation results may differ dramatically.... The participation process was more targeted at national civil society organisations, like those of environmental interests, rather than the local communities" (Al-Hajj, 11/04/10).*

> *"....the workshops were insufficient....they were very general and the individuals could not view themselves within the development to participate" (Atfeh 13/04/10)*

> *"The important thing is to note that those who are directly affected, like people who will lose their homes during the construction works or those adjacent to the line, were not asked for their opinions. Even if they were, the information given out to them did not explain this, so they have said yes while they may have said no if they had known what the story really was. I feel that the process in this particular project was more like an act to facilitate the development" (Not to be named H.S, 19/04/2010).*

Therefore, and based on the analysis process explained in Chapter four, the result of the public consultation process is not considered to be reliable, as the state was seen to be not fully transparent regarding the project impact (see Figure 6-5). Five of the interviewees related the state's lack of transparency to the uncertainty that still exists around the development study and its funding options which are still not decided, causing the whole development project to come to a halt.

Besides, the consultation process and its results were processed by the same study party that already prepared the development plans. Thus, the interviewees' feedback on this issue showed a concern regarding the reliability of the treatment of the consultation results. In addition, the research primary data reflected the concern of the lack of trust between the public and the planning authorities in general as this was seen by the interviewees to affect public attitudes and consequently the possible results of the consultation process.

However, the public consultation results were also seen to be greatly affected by the lack of awareness among the public of the related aspects of the development. The scale of the project and the consultation process time limits played a part in the difficulty in conveying the key issues to the different educational classes within the public, meaning that 60% of the feedback received was from the educated community located around the university campus and students' residences. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the

lack of awareness among the public of the development's complications and related consequences was, to a great extent, a result of the lack of detail in the information delivered by the local authorities in the process as explained earlier. This was a result of the development scale which is on a macro level and grasping all its detailed aspects in a simple format for the public to understand was not fully achievable. However, this lack of awareness among the public is partly related to the tradition of the public usually being excluded from similar decisions. Consequently, the public's interest in being involved has greatly reduced due to its built-up belief that seeking involvement within such a centralised context of development decision-making is a vain effort. Furthermore, the GoD did not give Damascus metro development priority among other major developments in the city. This caused a lack of interest in the consultation process which was only carried out as a obligation without thorough study of its content and possible impact. These reasons all together made it difficult for the public to estimate the development impact on themselves. The following are examples of the interviewees responses in relation to the public's lack of awareness and its effect on the consultation process:

> *"In my opinion, according to the presentation and the issues displayed, the majority of the public and the targeted community are unaware of the project's details [complications]....unaware of the questions asked.... Therefore, you can't achieve the actual purpose of [engaging] the targeted community by the development" (Ayasso, 12/04/10).*

> *"I agree the questions were limited, but the project is on a city scale and people won't understand more than that, even the information provided was very hard for most people. Besides, these were the areas approved by the authorities to be offered to the public. .... The biggest difficulty was to make people understand the project. This is due to the lack of awareness among them on one hand, and to the scale of the development on the other. The information provided was very general and no details were given out. This could be due to the fact that maybe the project is not the biggest concern for the governorate at the moment and a decision about the execution option for it has not been reached yet" (Not to be named A.H, 14/04/10).*

Based on the discussion above and when evaluating the participation process that took place in relation to Damascus metro development using the wheel of participation shown in Figure 4-2 in Chapter four, it is valid to say[172] that the process used the press, newsletters and the web to only provide the public with the information the state was comfortable with releasing, rather than going into further details that might have been more relevant to public needs and concerns. The process attempted to further engage the public by carrying out a survey. However, this still provided information in a limited manner placing the responsibility to respond on the community. This makes the process fall within the wheel's sections of "limited consultation".

In summary, the top-down participation process which took place in the first case study involved mainly the EIB and the central government as key actors from the state's sphere while the GoD had only a limited role. The actors from the civil society sphere were a number of environmentally active NGOs, unions and the communities of academics and engineers. This is in addition to a total of approximately 2660 random individuals who responded to the consultation process via post, in person or via the web. The private sector had no role in the process of decision-making in this development as it was not engaged or consulted by the authorities in relation to the development.

It was evident in the analysis[173] of the actors and their relationships that the state via its central government was dominant in the state/civil society relationship regarding this development, as it was in control of all its related decisions while the local authority (GoD) was only the facilitator of the studies, the public consultation process and all their related institutional obligations. Despite the consultation process that took place, the existence of the civil society in the state/civil society relationship was nominal to fulfil the state's obligation in front of the funding party. The state in this was not fully transparent with the civil society, making its effect on the decision-making marginal. This was due to issues of development scale and timeline, lack of awareness among the public of its related complications and, most importantly, the absence of public participation in this manner from urban development laws and regulations.

[172] This is based on the definitions of the wheel terms provided in Appendix 6-2.
[173] This is based on the analysis process explained in the methodology in Chapter four.

However, carrying out a consultation process was seen by the informants as a positive step that had the potential to soften the state/civil society relationship and to be further developed to become a long-term process in future developments. The following are examples of the interviewees' comments regarding this issue:

> *"I think it was helpful.... it was helpful to have a structure in terms of understanding where and what to investigate" (Baker from K&A, 14/04/2010).*

> *"It is a step, but again, it is learning through doing" (Not to be named R.S from Tercon, 11/04/2010).*

> *"... let's stay positive and say it is an attempt that we, state and public, can learn from and manage the process better in other coming developments" (Not to be named H.S, 19/04/2010).*

Institutional analysis

Previously, the application of the first part of the analytical framework (see figure in Chapter two) which identifies urban development decision-making actors and their spheres of relationship showed that the main actor in the relation to Damascus metro development decision-making was the central government via SPC, MoLA and MoT. These central government bodies had full power over all the project related decisions - even the facilitation of the public participation process. However, the central government decisions were highly influenced by the EIB as an international agency providing funding for the project. Besides, the central government was highly affected by UNDP general policy of increasing public engagement in development decision-making. The local government did not have a key role in key development decisions of funding partners and the execution timeline. Instead, the local government was a facilitator of the central government guidance in addition to preparing the primary proposal of the green line in partnership with the study party.

NGOs and CBOs were involved in the public participation engagement process via inviting representatives from these to attend the REC meetings in GoD when taking decisions on the development studies. This process is in accordance with urban development Decree 5/1982 and its amendment Law 41/2002 and it takes place

repetitively in relation to other developments as well. Nonetheless, the development is targeted at a wide diverse community across the city which is not seen to have been well represented by the NGOs and CBOs invited by the state to attend the REC meetings.

The information provided to the public - in terms of content and format - and the survey carried out were not in accordance with urban development laws and regulations but a one-off opportunity associated with this specific development due to the fact it was studied and funded by international parties and carrying out a public engagement process was one of their demands. This is while the private sector was not involved in the development decision-making at any stage as the informants reported that the state did not consider private enterprises to be affected by the development. Table 6-4 below summarises the key actors involved in the process, their relationships and describes the space available in urban development organisations for each actor to play a role in the decision-making process.

Table 6-4: Institutional analysis of Damascus metro green line development

Actors involved		**Institutional tools for participation**		**Outcome**
		Mental models	**Organisational space available**	
Civil society sphere	Random individuals from the local community	Respond to the local authority's request to participate in the survey	Responding to the survey and commenting on the development webpage	The public participation process was held during the first stage of the development in order to report on the socio economic impact of the project to the international agency that is funding the development. The process was in the form of limited consultation held by the local government under a direct monitor from the central government. The process was a response to the development funding party process.
	NGOs	Representatives in the REC in GoD according to Decree 5/1982 and its amendment Law 41/2002	Meeting with representatives by GoD	
	CBOs	Representatives in the REC in GoD according to Decree 5/1982 and its amendment Law 41/2002	Meeting with representatives by GoD	
State sphere	GoD	Facilitating public consultation process according to guidance received from the study party and with permission from central government	Facilitate the process Report the results Reflect on the development study	
	Central government	Adoption of international agencies guidance and facilitation of their request to implement civil society participation	Allocating fund Permit contact with SCOs	
	International agency	Guidance to implement civil society participation as part of socio economy study for the development	Funding the development study and the consultation process	

Source: The author

Looking at the institutional analysis of decision-making for this development, as shown in Table 6-4 above, it is evident that public engagement with the local community in the format presented for this development, whether in relation to the information provided, the survey and the time span given, was not a regular process supported by urban development laws and regulations but a one-off event to fulfil the funding party requirements. In addition, the organisational structure of the urban development organisations was not qualified to carry out such processes. This is not only because of the absence of proper regulations for this but due to the fact that there is no entity that is responsible for the participation process. Nonetheless, the engagement of NGOs and

CBOs is regulated and often takes place when the development concerns these parties. This, however, kept the argument regarding the development limited to its environmental and social impact but not regarding its land occupation or visual and financial impact on the local community.

When looking at the analysis with the civil society in perspective, it shows that CSOs were present and represented in the local authority. However, their action was only in response to the state's request and they did not have any form of initiative to further affect the decision-making process. Furthermore, the local community targeted by the process was seen by the research informants to be very diverse and not properly organised or represented, as the majority of these do not fall under any form of wider organisation. This caused the majority of those potentially affected by the development to be out of reach of the participation process. This lack of organisation is not due to the absence of proper CSOs, as there are plenty of organisations of different interests in the city, but this is mainly due to the lack of awareness among the public of the wider meaning of CSOs and how these can be the channel to voice local interests to the planning authorities, and these interest are not only political but related to any aspect of the public wellbeing.

6.3.2 Qassyoon informal settlement case study

Actors and their spheres of relationship

This case study involves a bottom-up participation process where the land-use decision and the related development have already been made by the local community and about which the local authority has been later informed (and this is GoD in this case study) to provide infrastructure, safety procedures or public utilities. However, in this particular case study, after the bottom-up participation process took place, GoD became aware of the need to upgrade the area, and for this another top-down participation process took place under guidance from MAM and close monitoring from MoLA. This latter participation process took place also due to the fact that the study was carried out by MAM, which is a European study party, and the process of participation is a regular procedure and a given part of the urban development culture of the study group. Besides, the study is funded by an international party, and a participation statement is essential in order to obtain the development study funds.

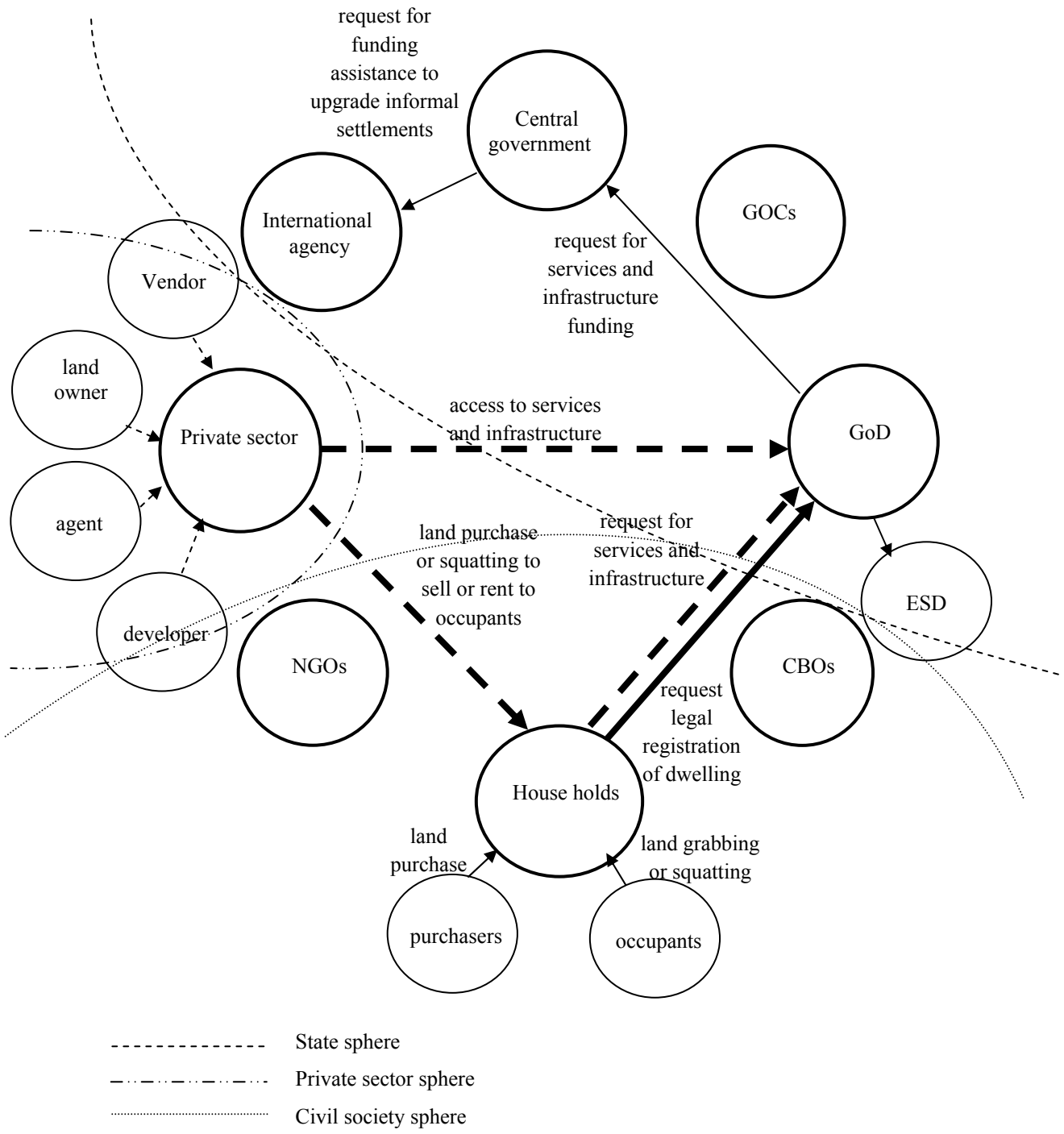


Figure 6-6: Qassyoon informal settlement: Land-use decision-making actors and their relationships
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Due to the fact that this case study concerns a bottom-up participation process, the sequence of the development process phases had already started with a prior land-use decision of informal development. In this, according to the information derived from the interviewees and literature and as shown in Figure 6-6, the occupants and the purchasers who form the residents played a major role in the making of this decision within

Qassyoon informal settlements as these were the actors that originally determined the location and the use of the land within the area (using land grabbing/squatting and, to a limited extent, land purchasing). The households then sought access to services and infrastructure mainly via the informal housing agents and developers who originally provided them with land or dwelling and these in turn used their connections with the local authorities to secure this, or via informal connections with the local service department responsible for the area. This act of land squatting was either in a group fashion or an individual act that accumulated to such an extent that the development reached its current size. This action was seen by the interviewees to be due to a variety of reasons. At the top of these were the insufficient housing policies and the high land value coupled with innternal and external immigration. These reasons along with others were ranked in Figure 6-7 below according to their effect on the emergence of Qassyoon settlement based on the information derived from the interviewees.

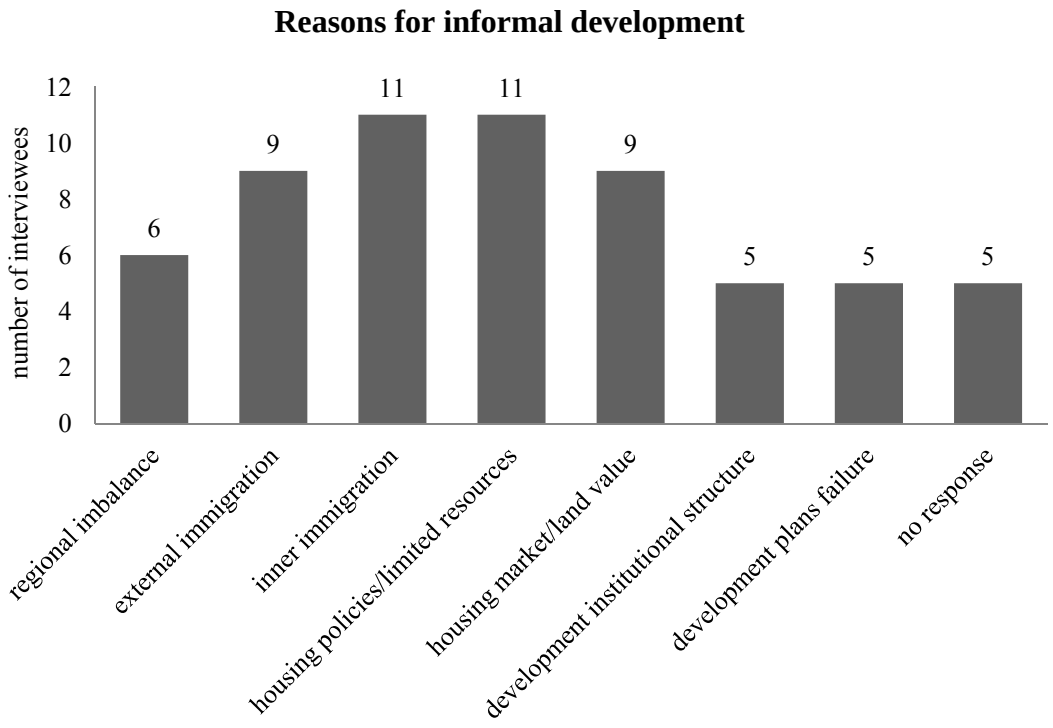


Figure 6-7: Reasons for Qassyoon informal settlement development

Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

The other equally effective actor in land-use decision-making within Qassyoon informal settlement (and this is referred to earlier and shown in Figure 6-6) was the private sector in its informal form. This is formed by a variety of parties, vendors, land owners, agents and developers. These either informally bought privately owned land or squatted on

state owned land and subdivided it and sold/rented it again, empty or built on. The agents and developers not only provided land, but also secured building materials and access to services as these are well connected with the service department responsible for the area. Looking at the fast pace of the area's growth in size and population due to increasing demand, this process has proved to be a well established market despite being informal.

The local authorities were informed of the development not only via formal and informal requests for infrastructure and utilities but more urgently due to the collapse of a number of dwellings along the rift line across the area. This made taking action towards the development a higher priority for GoD. As such, the planning authorities presented a variety of solutions to deal not only with the threat of the rift but with the whole area as an informal development. These, as shown in Figure 6-8, varied from upgrading to totally demolishing the development. Nonetheless, dealing with an informal settlement is very much related to the land value where the development is, and to its effect on the whole city. This is also very much related to the potential of the land for investment and the availability of adequate funding for any action to be taken. The following are some examples of the interviewees' perceptions on GoD policies towards informal settlements.

> *"... I believe the final decision will be left to the development plan whether it is going to keep these areas or not, and this depends on the city's best interests whether it is by merging them with the community of the centre or not" (Al-Hajj, 11/04/2010).*

> *"The areas can't be removed and it is naive to think so, to tear them down is a half criminal way of thinking and it will only increase the tension in the country. It is neither a solution to remove it nor to leave it as it is. But a mixture of both may be suitable" (Not to be named R.S from Tercon, 11/04/2010.*

> *"It is hard to answer whether the informal development should be kept, as informal areas in Damascus are different from elsewhere" (Hashimoto from JICA, 24/04/2010).*

"The state has no solutions. These areas are left unmanaged and they will continue to spread, as the state has no clear mapping for any alternatives. Although we, as a private sector, have offered our help and support in this, as these areas affect our investments, the governorate refused again" (Not to be named M.O, 22/04/2010).

"Up until now, there is no clear policy for this. All we've seen is that if the informal development is not urgently or directly affecting a development, it is ignored. But once there is a high level development with high profit, the informal developments are removed and people are relocated usually outside the city" (Not to be named H.S, 19/04/2010).

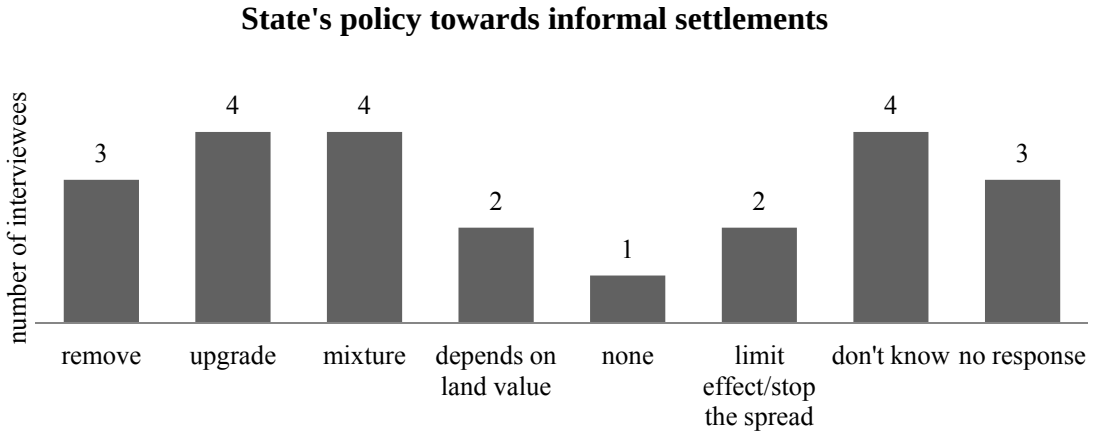


Figure 6-8: Perceptions of the state's policies towards informal civil society driven development
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Despite the fact that GoD did not have a clear strategy for dealing with informal developments in the area, the majority of the interviewees from the three spheres of society acknowledged the local community of the area as an effective form of civil society due to its unique local characeristics and social relations on one hand and its noticeable effect on the built invironment of the area on the other. This community is seen to be even more effective in relation to the economy of the city due to the different professions it masters and the labour force it forms. The following are a few examples of the perceptions of the interviewees of the informal settlement community and these are further illustrated in Figure 6-9 that shows the interviewees' perception of the area's local community being a form of civil society and Figure 6-10 which reflects the interviewees' perception of its effect on the built environment of the city.

"They form a strong effective civil society force which is an election force too" Abdin, 15/04/2010).

"We can say that these areas do have some form of civil society defined by certain culture and atmosphere who managed to develop a whole informal area" (Hashimoto, 24/04/2010).

"Informal developments reflect a strong civil society in terms of mind and will. If the state does not provide a solution, we will do it ourselves" (Not to be named R.S from Tercon, 11/04/2010).

The informal settlements community as a form of civil society

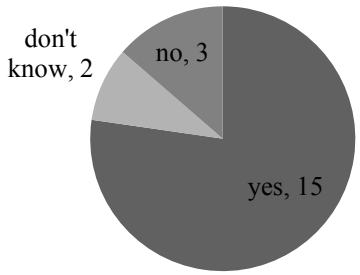


Figure 6-9: The interviewees perceptions of the informal settlement community as a form of civil society
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

The effectiveness of the informal settlements community on the built environment

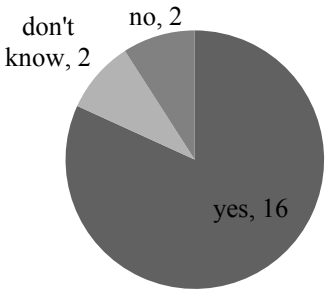


Figure 6-10: The effect of informal settlement community on the built environment
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Qassyoon informal settlement is currently under consideration for an upgrade. The project was driven by the community as several houses have fallen down, and via the examination of the site, a rift was detected. Therefore, the first aim of the study was to evaluate the geological status of the site and, accordingly, suggest a development plan for the area. An initial study for this was carried out by MAM with the co-operation of GoD and under close monitoring from MoLA.

The area's problems were detected with the support of the Women's Union (WU) via Al-Muhajereen and Rukn Al-Deen branches where meetings were held and questionnaires to examine the position of the residents (for example type of ownership, missing services, social problems) were distributed among the local residents of the area[174]. Permission to facilitate the process and use the support of WU and YU was sought from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour (MoSAL).

The survey results showed that the average family size in the area was six members. The services needed ranged from schools and proper transportation to security, as the area is a shelter for those wanted by the law. There was a prompt response from GoD as a plan for increasing security has been put in place and a connecting east-west road has been suggested to link all the north-south roads and to ease the issue of patrolling the area and to provide easier access for emergency services in case something happens.

However, the women's groups' biggest concern was the possibility of being moved from the area as threatened, as they do not want to leave. Therefore, it was suggested to keep the residents who are out of the danger zone on their land, while moving those under threat to a nearby state-owned residential development. Meetings with youth groups were also held, and their concerns were related to the lack of entertainment facilities and security measures within their local area. Thus, a provision for these was considered in MAM's study.

This contact with the local community in the area, as shown in Figure 6-11, was due to the fact that an international agency was involved in the study as it was undertaken by MAM and funded by EIB. The process is not a regular procedure followed in similar developments when the local community requests the planning authorities for support to

[174] No definite number of questionnaires has been given to the author.

provide needed services and utilities, but these are usually provided either informally or in accordance with reports based on site surveys carried out by the local service department responsible for the area.

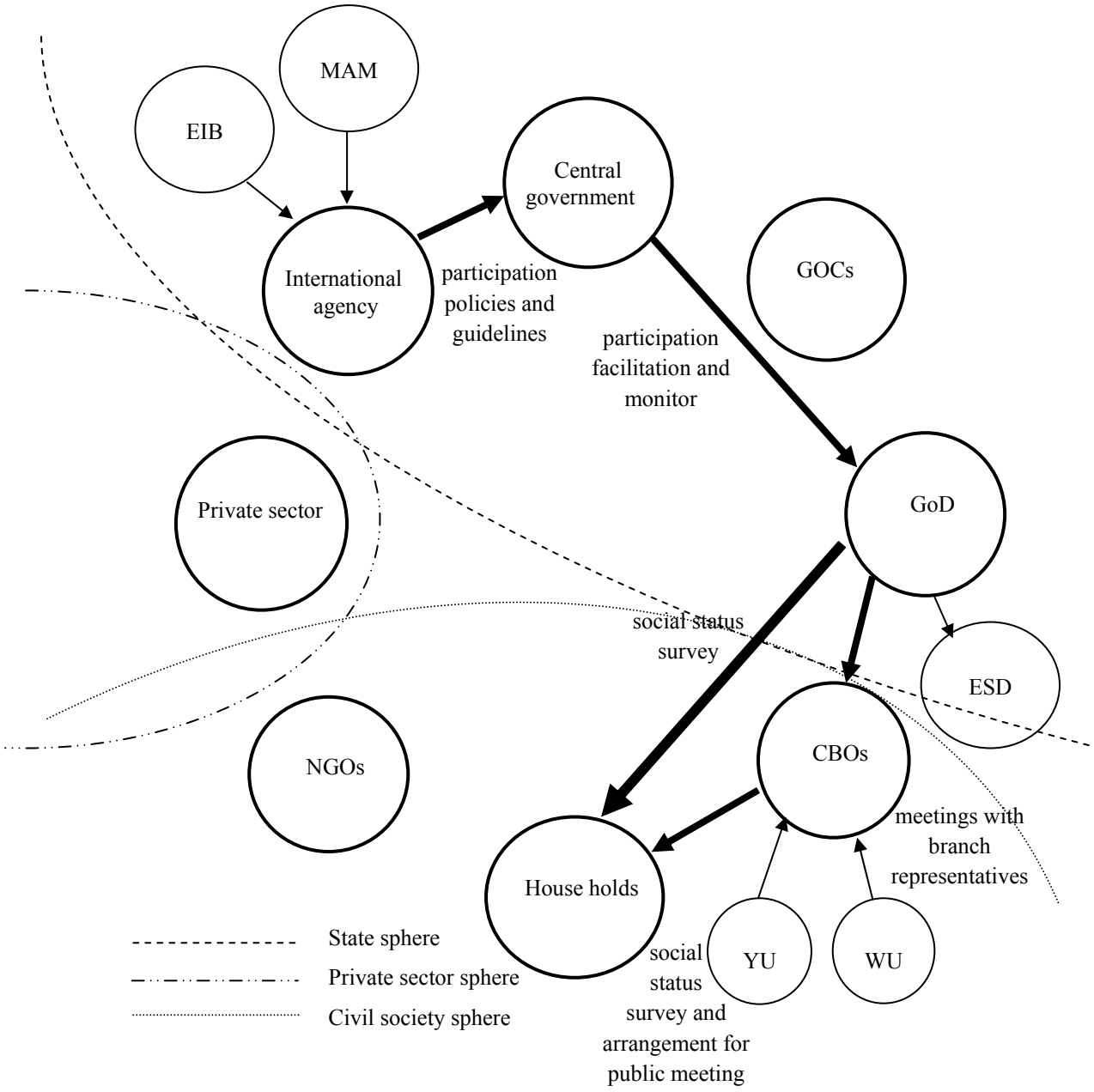


Figure 6-11: Qassyoon informal development: The participation process actors and their relationships

Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

It is quite evident that the local community in Qassyoon, as shown in Figure 6-6, is a noticeable force that has effectively dominated land-use decision-making and shaped the built environment in the area to date. However, the area severely lacked services and safety measures. The local community has informed the local authorities of these needs and GoD has started to take action to carry out geological and service provision studies. For this, GoD has contracted MAM to carry out the study and the latter, being a foreigner party, has its own regulations when examining such cases. MAM, as shown in Figure 6-11, urged for a participation process to be carried out in order to provide a reflective knowledge base of the local needs in the area before proceeding with the upgrade provision. This was a new practice for both the local community and the planning authorities when providing service provision for an informal settlement. Yet, the interviewees' visions of the effect of facilitating participation in similar cases were quite controversial as explained below.

The role of participation to control the spread of these settlements

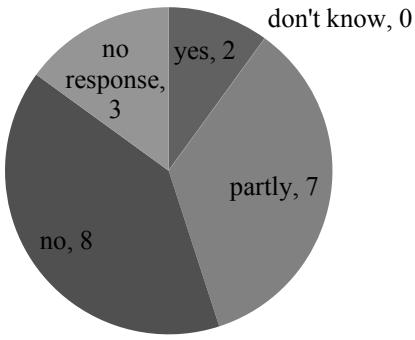


Figure 6-12: The perceptions of the effect of facilitating participation within informal civil society-driven developments

Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Upon investigating the perception of the interviewees of the benefit of engaging the informal settlements residents in urban development decision-making, only a few agreed that participation here would help the local authorities to clearly define the needs of the area and/or would potentially contribute to controlling the spread of informal development. The majority of the interviewees viewed participation to have a limited or absent effect to control the spread of informal settlements. As explained earlier in Chapter five, those who perceived participation to form only a part of the solution

insisted that the spread of informal developments can only be stopped when the main causes for it are examined and addressed - these were explained earlier in Chapter five. The interviewees who disagreed on applying public participation among the informal settlement residents related the reason for their views to the characteristics of the informal settlement community which are explained further below as barriers to facilitating participation within informal settlements. Figure 6-12 above shows the number of interviewees who shared each of the three perceptions of the effect of public participation on the control of the informal development spread. The following are quotes from some of the interviewees' that reflect their views and the associated reasons for them.

> *"Participation in the informal areas is not the right strategy. Because, these areas are included in a vision for the whole city...what kind of participation am I expecting here? He already lives in a slum and I will give him a house. Inside or outside the city, this relates to the interests of the whole city and I don't need his opinion at this level. I facilitate participation in the areas that accept possibilities, but here a city's interests are involved so why should I consult him/her?" (Abdin,15/04/2010).*

> *"I believe participation is not an answer for this as it is hard to access the society of these areas due to its diversity and the fact that no clear categories, classification or structure is available for them. On the other hand, they do fear the state, as they know the authorities keep a close eye on them and they always feel the threat of being removed, so they act a little conservatively when it comes to any ideas of development"(not to be named A.H from K&A, 14/04/2010).*

The data derived from the interviewees reflected a number of barriers to applying participation among the community within informal settlements. The most prominent of these, as shown in Figure 6-13, was the lack of proper organisational structure that can represent this community, to the local authorities and can be targeted by participation. Thus, despite the fact that the research informants agreed on the local community within the area being an effective form of civil society that has a leading role in land-use decision-making in the area, this community has certain characteristics that limit the possibility for them to be organised in clear institutions where they can be contacted

regarding their local needs. The local community within this area is seen to be constantly changing in population numbers and social and cultural characteristics over a short period of time. This makes this community almost impossible to survey properly. Furthermore, this community lacks the awareness of, first, the importance of being properly represented in the local authorities and, second, the importance of participating and contacting the local authorities regarding their local needs. The following is one of the interviewees' views on the changing social nature of the local community and the difficulty of engaging it in any study regarding their local area.

> *"...no development plan can offer a solution for them unless there is a full understanding of their circumstances. This is very difficult because their densities are very high, they are very problematic, their developments are very fast, and the percentage of their labour force is constantly changing....and this causes many social complications.... Engaging them is important but very difficult" (Atfeh, 13/04/2010).*

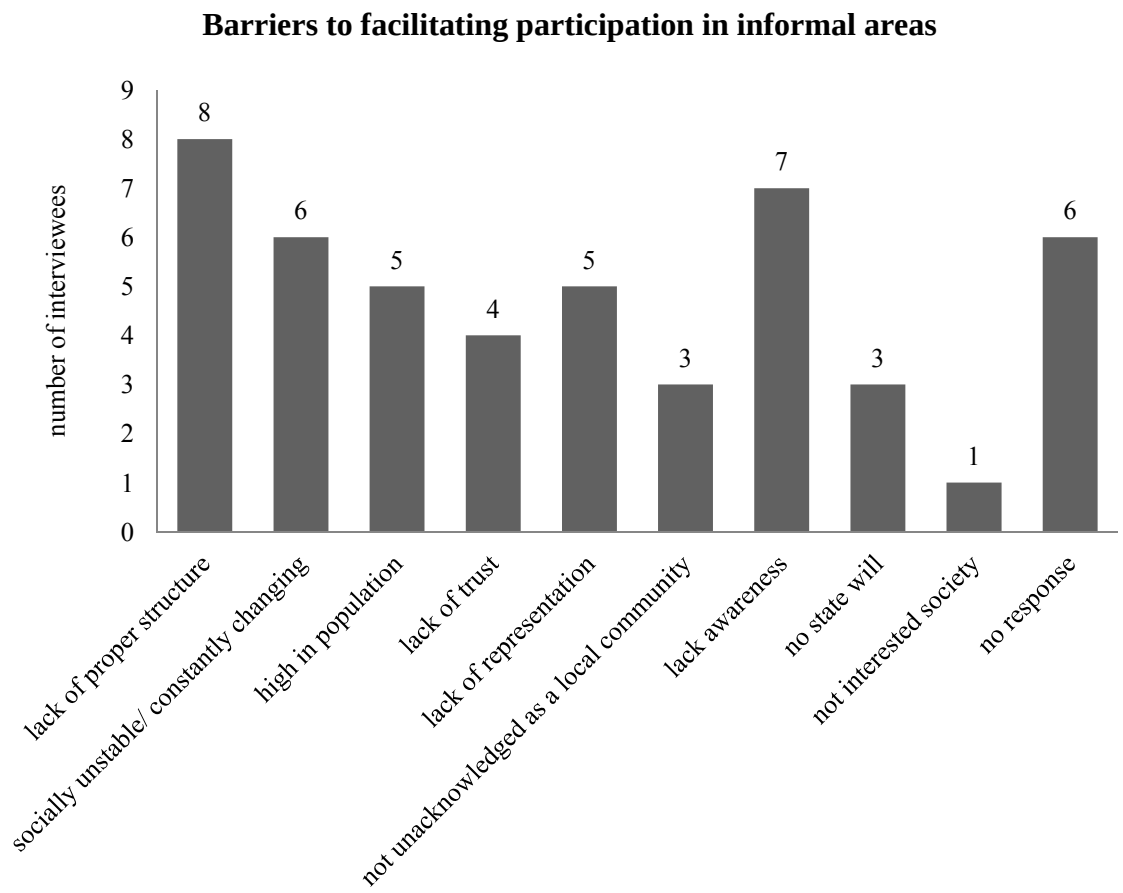


Figure 6-13: Barriers to facilitating participation among local communities in informal areas

Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

It is important to note, however, that this community, to a great extent, lacks trust in the local authorities. This is because their households and associated utilities have been developed by themselves in disagreement with land ownership and building regulations. This makes contacting the authorities regarding their social needs a potential threat to their developments and this leads the majority of the local residents to seek services by using informal ways and contacts with the local authorities or informal agents and developers. This tension in the relationship between the local authorities and the local community within the informal settlement forms another important barrier to facilitating participation within the area as shown in Figure 6-13 above.

Based on the former discussion, this case study experiences two forms of public participation. The first is a bottom-up participation process and the second is a top-down participation process. Yet, the second process is based on the public request for service provision study and was done by MAM. The discussion of the participation process in Damascus metro development applies here again and the process falls into the "limited consultation" category on the wheel of participation shown in Figure 4-2 in Chapter four.

However, when positioning the bottom-up participation process that took place in relation to Qassyoon informal development, it is valid to say that it falls within the "independent control" category. This is because in this case study, the land-use decision-making is left to the local community and the informal private sector with the local authority being aware of the process. However, it is important to note that this form of participation is of an informal fashion despite it being effective in delivering a successful housing market within the area.

Based on the analysis of the land-use decision-making actors and their relationships in the Qassyoon informal settlement case study, it is valid to say that the local community was in control of land-use decision-making. The informal private sector also had significant power over land-use decision-making in the area. This was despite the fact that the GoD, via its ESD of the area, played a role in providing services and infrastructure to the already built development. This is carried out both formally and

informally. The central government had no form of involvement in the process at that stage. In this, it is evident that the local community had a strong presence and effect on the state/civil society relationship regarding this development, as it was in control of, or at least affects, its related decisions. While the local authority (GoD) was only the facilitator, and probably negotiator, of services provision.

However, the state/civil society relationship that formed later took the shape described in the Damascus metro case study, where a participation process took place under guidance from an international agency and with close monitoring from the central government. In this, the local authorities only played a role of a facilitator of the process and the local community acted upon the authority's invitation for participation. This form of participation is not the main concern in relation to this case study as the aim of choosing this case study is to examine the bottom-up participation process which took place throughout all the stages of the development in an informal fashion.

Institutional analysis

The analysis of the land-use decision-making actors and their spheres of relationship in relation to Qassyoon informal settlement showed that the local community dominates the process, using informal ways of land squatting and building. Another equally dominant actor in the process is the informal private sector formed by vendors, landowners, agents and developers who have a major role in the area's land-use and, furthermore, service provision. Furthermore, the local community and private sector use informal relations with officials and engineers in the local ESD and GoD to facilitate their developments, and hence some form of negotiation takes place. The GoD is aware of the informal developments, and despite not being effective enough to control their spread, it imposes a constant threat of demolition to any form of informal development.

In relation to the state's policy towards the informal developments, there was nothing notable in that relation until 2000 when Law 26 was issued to amend Acquisition Law 60 of the year 1979 which is seen by the research informants to be one of the main reasons for these developments to occur. The amendment of the law gives the informal development residents the right to claim compensation or alternative residence when their land is being acquired, similar to that given to residents of legally registered developments. This, however, did not slow the growth of informal developments; it

might rather have encouraged it. Therefore, Laws 1/2003 and 59/2008 were issued and aimed to control the spread of illegal developments as these were aimed at removing any informal development built after the date of the issue of Law 1/2003. Nonetheless, these have proven to be insufficient due to the constant tolerance the local ESD shows to the actors involved in the development who have proven to be well, albeit informally, connected with the authorities and still able to facilitate their development.

Therefore, GoD will still be unable to control the spread of informal developments unless a solution that can provide alternative acceptable housing is found. The research informants suggested that this can be achieved via further facilitation of housing investments for those of limited income on state-owned land with tax-free legalisation, or any other encouragements that can promote such investments and stop the informal developments. Therefore, Law 33/2008 and then Law 15 in 2008 for real-estate development were an attempt to respond to the high housing demand in the city but have proven to be time-consuming and unresponsive to local needs. Thus, the local community still tends to continue developing informally using socially accepted rules.

When looking at the possibility of making the bottom-up informal participation process more formal, the planning authorities (despite having a strong view of local community as an effective form of civil society) do not believe in participation as an effective means of controling the spread of the informal development or enhance these. This, as explained by the interviewees, is due to poor organisation of the local community within the area because of its diversity and constantly changing circumstances. As such, the local community in this area has no form of representation that can gain formal access to the local authorities. Most importantly, there is some form of tension between the local community and the local authorities as the local community is in constant fear of the possibility that their development will be demolished due to new investment needs. This makes the local community seek informal ways using horizontal relations to inform the authorities of their needs. The following table, Table 6-5, summarises the institutional analysis of this case study showing the key actors in land-use decision-making in the area, the key mental models that shape their relationships, the organisational form of these and the outcome of all these factors.

Table 6-5: Institutional analysis of Qassyoon informal development

Actors involved		Institutional tools for participation		Outcome
		Mental models	**Organisational space available**	
Civil society sphere	Households	Socially accepted rules to gain access to land and services	No formal form of organisation or representation in the local authorities. Using strongly established kinship relations with the local authorities and the private sector to gain access to land and building materials	Land-use decision-making is made by the households and the informal private sector who gained access to land and building materials using kinship relations with the formal private sector and the local authorities. The local authorities were later informed of the development as a result of claims for social services and infrastructure. These were either provided formally or informally depending on a case by case basis.
Private sector sphere	Private sector in its informal form	Socially accepted rules to facilitate informal development using kinship based relations with the local community and the local authorities	No formal organisational form or registration and no form or representation or access to the formal structure of planning decision-making but strongly effective using horizontally based relations with planning authorities	
State sphere	GoD	Facilitating informal development related laws and regulations as received from the central government. There is a form of tolerance and facilitation of informal developments using kinship based relations with the local community and the informal private sector	Contact with the local community via the local ESD which receives public claims for social services and infrastructure	
	Central government	Building infractions Law 1/2003 Illegal buildings Law 59/2008 Property regulation Law 33/2008 Property development Law 15/2008	Allocating funding to facilitate informal development related laws and regulations via MoLA	
	International agency	Guidance to upgrade informal settlement areas	Funding for upgrading development plans for informal settlement areas	

Source: The author

Looking at the institutional analysis of the bottom-up participation process in relation to Qassyoon informal development case study, it is evident that the local community lacks organisation and representation in the local authorities as a formal form of vertical civil society. However, it is a strong form of horizontal civil society which is dominant on land-use decision making within the area, using socially accepted rules and structures of kinship relations, with also the private sector and the local authorities engaged to facilitate access to land, building materials, social services and infrastructure.

6.4 A comparison of the urban development institutional context of the case studies

In this section, a comparison of the institutional context of civil society participation process in urban land-use-decision making in relation to both case studies is introduced in Table 6-6. This is introduced regarding the process actors, the mental models that shape their relationships and the organisational structures that provide the space for these to interact. This is to further understand, first, the type of urban development governance which exists in relation to the case studies, second, the urban development organisation form that links the decision-making key actors together and, third, the current participation mechanisms taking place in both case studies. In this, areas of strength and weaknesses in the civil society participation process are highlighted and this contributes to providing an empirical data base to answer the third research objective in the following chapter.

Table 6-6: Institutional comparison of the research case studies

Area of comparison		**Top-down civil society participation Damascus metro case study**		**Bottom-up civil society participation Qassyoon informal development case study**	
		Dominant actor	Other less effective actors	Dominant actor	Other less effective actors
Actors		• International agencies (UNDP, EIB) • Central government (SPC, MoLA, MoT)	• Local government (GoD) • CSOs and the public	• Local community • Informal private sector	• Local government (GoD) • Central government (MoLA)
Mental models		Civil society participation policies and guidelines derived from the international agencies and applied to pilot projects		Socially accepted rules and traditions	
Organisational structure		Hierarchical organisational structure where access to civil society is available for CSO representatives at the bottom of the structure		Informal horizontally laid out structure based on kinship relations among all society forces	
SWOT analysis	Strengths	• The use of international experience and best practise • Availability of fund to facilitate the process • The central government's will to facilitate participation		• Successful and affordable service delivery market • Strong spheres of interaction among key society actors	
	Weaknesses	• Lack of institutional capacity on the local government level • Lack of awareness of the benefits of the process among the local community • Limited organisational access to decision-making process available for SCOs • Lack of transparency • Lack of trust		• Absence of clear organisational structure among the local community • Absence of formal representation of local needs within the local authorities • Constant tension between the local community and the planning authorities • Lack of trust	
	Opportunities	• Turn the pilot projects experience into a long term process • Embed the process into planning regulations • Benefit from the SCOs' structure to contact the public		• Benefit from the strong relations among the local community • Benefit from self-service action of the local community to reduce the work load for the local authorities	
	Threats	• This process being a one-time opportunity for the public to contribute to land-use decision-making		• Informal development being under constant threat of demolition for the benefit of the authorised development plans	

Source: The author

The comparison illustrates that in the first case study, in terms of **actors**, the analysis showed that this was a top-down participation process when the central government was in full control over land-use decision-making while civil society had a minimal effect on the process. This is different from the second case study, where a bottom-up participation process took place, and the civil society dominated land-use decision-making. In this, the central government had the role of issuing regulations to control the spread of informal developments, yet these have proven to be insufficient. Meanwhile the local government acted as a service provider to the informal areas and the facilitator of informal development regulation as set by the central government. Overall, therefore, it is acceptable to say that the planning authorities and the civil society are in opposing positions of power in each case study.

When discussing the **mental models** that shape the actors' relations, the comparison shows that there was no formal adoption of civil society participation processes in the land-use decision-making within urban development laws and regulations in either of the case studies. However, in the first case study the central government had acknowledged public participation under influence from the international agencies of UNDP and EIB to be a process that included a wider section of civil society beyond the regular process of inviting representatives of development-related SCOs to the REC meeting. The process was applied in the form of a pilot project in this case due to its funding being supplied by EIB. This stands in contrast to the bottom-up participation process, where the dominant actor relations were based on socially accepted rules and traditions and these rarely involved the central government. These informal mental models provided the local community with access to land and social utilities through the informal private sector or GoD via the local ESD.

When examining the **organisational structure** or land-use decision-making in both case studies, the top-down participation process was applied using a hierarchy or planning organisations where the civil society, despite enjoying a formal, well-organised structure, had limited access to the process and only at the bottom of the hierarchy where a limited information/consultation process took place either by way of public surveys or the meeting with CSO representatives in the local authority.

On the other hand, the bottom-up participation process which took place in the second case study had a limited form of formal organisational structure[175]. However, the process was based on a strong, well-established horizontal relation of kinship among the three actors. The civil society therefore, despite lacking a formal structure and representation in local authorities, had good access to land-use decision-making (via informal real-estate market and informal negotiations with the local authorities). This is while the local authorities played an informal role in providing the development with services.

When carrying out a **SWOT analysis** of the institutional context of both case studies, each form of civil society participation which took place in the case studies had a number of areas of **strength**. In the metro case study, there was an opportunity for the planning authorities to benefit from international experiences and best practice to seek the best possible way for the process application that could benefit the decision-making process. In addition, the process application was funded by EIB as a part of the feasibility study for the development. Furthermore, the central government was willing to facilitate the process application, the reason being to fulfil the funding party requests. Further, it was an opportunity to experience a new type of decision-making experience within the planning context of the city.

The bottom-up participation process in the second case study, despite having no formal acknowledgement like the first case study, proved to be able to secure a successful and affordable service delivery to the local community in the area. Furthermore, this process involved a strong sphere of interaction among the three society forces, which may not exist through the formal routes of institutional relations among them. This, however, did not result in long-term practices.

The areas of **weakness** associated with Damascus metro case study were mainly associated with lack of capacity among both the planning authorities and civil society. The local authorities lacked the required training to facilitate the process. Furthermore, the civil society organisations had only limited access to land-use decision-making via the REC. In addition, the local community lacked awareness of the benefits they would gain from the process. This, coupled with lack of transparency from the state and lack of

[175] The women's and young people's groups were partly involved in this.

trust in the planning authorities resulted in the public having a negative attitude towards the process and consequently a limited effect on decision-making.

In the second case study, the key weakness was associated with the absence of a clear formal organisational structure that could contain the local community groups. This resulted in the absence of formal representation of these groups in the local authorities and the failure of the authorities to acknowledge them as defacto decision-making actors. On the contrary, the planning authorities treated these as a barrier to the development process in the area and looked to facilitate laws and regulations to remove informal developments. This exacerbated the constant tension and lack of trust between the local community and the planning authorities. This makes the informal negotiations among society actors short-term and limited to individual cases, rather than being built into the planning system as a long-term practice. Furthermore, the informal development process is limited when dealing with more complex issues (e.g. geological land nature), which makes the sustainability of the resulting development product uncertain.

Despite these weaknesses, both types of participation process embedded a number of **opportunities** to turn them into more beneficial mechanisms to land-use decision-making. The top-down participation process had the opportunity to embed itself within development decision-making regulations and eventually become a long-term process that can be applied in further developments rather than keeping it within the limits of pilot projects when funded by international parties. In this, the planning authorities can benefit from the existing structures of civil society and increase their contribution to land-use decision-making. This benefit did not exist in the bottom-up participation process in the second case study. Nonetheless, the planning authorities have the opportunity to benefit and work with the strong informal structure of the civil society that provided self-service to the area by seeking ways to maintain a constant formal connection with the local community via some organisational structuring. This has the potential to ease the tension in the state/civil society relationship on one hand and decrease the work-load for the local authorities as the area is already a product of a successful service delivery system.

Despite the opportunities that can bring the participation process into a more productive zone, there are a number of **threats** that may limit these opportunities. There is a great possibility for the top-down participation process that took place in Damascus metro case study to be kept within the limits of a pilot project rather than expanding the experience and embedding the process in the planning regulations in the city. This would make the process no more than a one-off opportunity rather than a long-term experience that has the potential to make land-use decision-making a more collaborative approach instead of being of a central fashion.

On the other hand, the bottom-up participation process which took place in relation to the second case study runs the risk of continuing to be informal and resisted by the planning authorities. This will mean that the local community and the planning authorities remain opponents rather than becoming partners in the development process. Consequently, the area will remain under constant threat of demolition in accordance with development regulations for the benefit of authorised development plans or for alternative investment possibilities.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an analysis of the primary research data collected in relation to the case studies. This is to complement the previous chapter and contribute to answering the following research questions on the local level of Damascus city:

1.4 What type of governance, state-market-civil society relationship, currently exists in Syria?
2.1 What form of urban development organisation currently exists in Syria?
2.3 What participation mechanisms currently exist in Syria in terms of urban development?

In response to question 1.4, the analysis showed that there were **two forms of relations** among society actors, **formal** with central government dominance over development decision-making and **informal** with civil society dominance over land-use decision-making. In the first case study, the relationship among the three society actors was of a

formal type. However, the private sector did not have any form of input in the metro related decision-making while the state sought further contact with the civil society than what usually took place according to urban development regulations. This new form of state/civil society relationship was not regulated or legalised as a long-term process, but was experienced as a one-off opportunity in relation to this particular development due to the fact that it was funded by an international agency and public participation was a requirement to secure this funding. The land-use decision-making for this case study, however, was dominated by the central government while the civil society had only limited access to the process. This stands in contrast to the second case study, where the state/market/civil society relationship took an informal form in which contact among these spheres was based on kinship relations controlled by socially accepted mental models. In this, civil society, despite lacking formal acknowledgement from the state, was dominant over land-use decision-making, and the private sector in its informal form played a major role in the process while the state was the service provider yet, according to formal development regulations, an opponent to the development.

In response to research question 2.1, it was evident in the analysis that **urban development organisational structure** was either of **a formal vertical nature** headed by the central government institutions as illustrated in the first case study of the Damascus metro development, or of **an informal horizontal nature** as shown in the second case study of Qassyoon informal settlement. The first allowed a limited space for civil society input at the bottom of the structure either via meetings with SCO representatives in ESD and REC in GoD or via the public survey run by GoD. This was under close monitoring from the central government. Nonetheless, the participation process that took place was no more than a "limited consultation" when positioned on the wheel of participation. This was while the informal organisational structure of development allowed far more leeway for civil society input to the extent that it could be positioned in the "independent control" category on the wheel of participation. This structure, however, is rather limited in how it could deal with more difficult development issues.

When examining the **participation mechanisms** used in the case studies in order to respond to research question 2.3, it is valid to say that the top-down participation process which took place in the first case study used an **irregular set of tools** to contact

the public (survey, public meeting, public exhibition) in addition to the regulated ways of meeting with SCO representatives in ESD or REC. These, however, are **not regulated** in urban development laws but were in the form of a pilot project as a response to the international agencies affecting the development. The process proved to be neither sufficient to reflect the real perception of the civil society of the development nor to decrease the level of centralisation of the development-related decisions. Yet, these were seen to be a positive step towards increasing the authorities' and civil society's experience in the process. In the bottom-up participation process that took place in the second case study, the mechanisms used to facilitate the bottom-up participation process were **similarly not regulated** by development laws, but **frequently used** for service delivery within the informal areas as those proved to be successful to fulfil the local needs in the area.

The research questions targeted by this chapter are answered here on the local level of Damascus city. These answers are extrapolated on the national level in the following chapter. This further contributes to answering the third research objective in both chapters seven and eight.

Chapter seven: An institutional analysis of civil society participation in urban development in Syria

7.1 Introduction

This chapter extrapolates the analysis findings of the case studies introduced in the previous chapter in order to arrive at the key institutional characteristics of civil society participation in urban development but on the national level of Syria. This is to provide full answers to research questions partly answered previously in chapters five and six. These are:

1.4 What type of governance, state-market-civil society relationship, currently exists in Syria?
2.1 What form of urban development organisation currently exists in Syria?
2.3 What participation mechanisms currently exist in Syria in terms of urban development?

Furthermore, the chapter discusses the potential of making civil society participation in urban development in Syria a long-term process by examining the possibilities for enabling civil society participation in terms of mental models and the resulting spaces for civil society input within the organisational structure of urban development institutions. This is an attempt to recommend a more efficient form of civil society participation that is more likely to deliver the 10th FYP objectives in achieving potentially sustainable development. In this, the chapter contributes to answering the following research questions:

3.1 How applicable are civil society participation policies, as promoted by the UNDP, to the urban development institutional context in Syria?

3.2 Which areas can be developed in the urban development institutional context in Syria in order to establish long term collaborative governance especially in terms of state-civil society relationships?

3.3 What alternative, potentially more efficient, participation mechanisms can be adopted within the urban development organisational forms in Syria?

A discussion of some issues related to promoting a broader governance form within the Syrian society where civil society can have a greater input has also been introduced. Finally, the chapter concludes with the research question answers provided by this chapter.

7.2 National level analysis

7.2.1 Actors and their spheres of relationship

Based on the contextual literature review presented in chapters three and five, and primary data analysis of the case studies in Chapter six, it is valid to say that there are two forms of urban development in Syria, formal and informal. Both types are affected by the organisational components of three actors; the state, the market and civil society. In this, the formal regulated process of urban land-use decision-making is very centralised and dominated by state development organisations. This results in there being greater control in the hands of central organisations than in those of the local government level which, in most cases, only acts as a facilitator of the central development decisions and guidelines. This is true especially when related to the city centre developments. The market effect here is very much related to the financial profit from a proposed investment and the returns the state's central bank is to gain from any proposed private development. The private sector's effect is usually in the form of planning applications which are not necessarily in accordance with the guidelines of the approved development plan. In this, it is valid to say that the state's function of market regulations, although apparently socially oriented for the benefit of the local communities, is mostly perceived to be based on the investment return the state can gain rather than being based on civil society needs (see Figure 7-1).

The effect of civil society needs on the state's function of market regulations

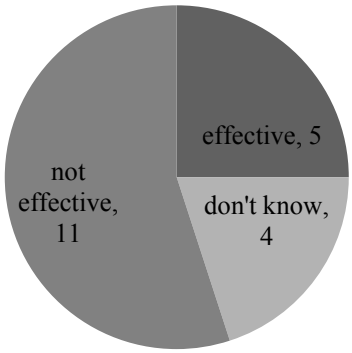


Figure 7-1: The effect of civil society's needs on the state's function of market regulations
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Civil society input in the formal type of urban land-use decision-making is still, if it exists at all, minimal and at a very late stage of the urban development process in the form of a 30-day right to appeal. However, and this is with great influence from international development agencies (especially UNDP), some forms of civil society participation have started to emerge in the form of pilot projects, but only when funded by international donors and studied by foreign parties who consider participation to be a key regulator for urban development decision-making. The process, as was shown in the first case study, was no more than a limited public consultation, where only a little information was released to a few groups of civil society resulting in limited or absent input from the public.

Civil society participation, as introduced by the international agencies and the foreign study parties, did not achieve the positive results it aimed to. One of the key reasons for this is the society actors' perception of the possible role of civil society which mostly ranged between fair and weak (see Figure 7-2). This means that a great part of civil society and its organisational components, especially in its informal form, risks being excluded from the process and, consequently, the proposed developments could be unreflective of public needs. In sum, civil society does not trust or have faith in the process.

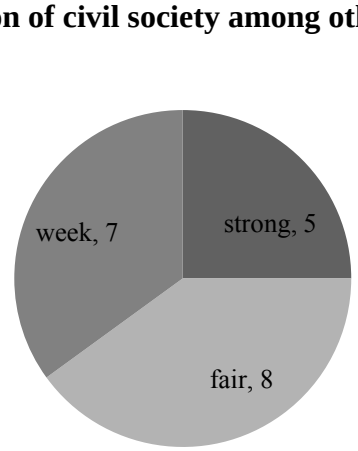


Figure 7-2: The common perception of civil society among society actors
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Another key reason seen as a barrier to efficient civil society participation is related to actors' capacity needed to facilitate the process, especially in relation to the state and to civil society. On the one hand, the state's major capacity needs, as shown in Figure 7-3, are related to a lack of proper institutional structure that can manage the process. In other words, the current urban development process lacks both the proper regulation for participation to function, and the space for it to even exist within the organisational structure of urban development organisations. Besides, there is an absence of appropriately trained staff that can handle participation in terms of regulating and implementing the process. Furthermore, the state organisations are still centre-asserted and still not in complete acceptance of the concept of any form of shared decision-making. This is reflected in the gate-keeping attitude of the state towards releasing information to the public, highlighting the need for a culture change regarding urban development governance. This attitude of the state, however, can be related to the lack of the state's will to really engage the public in land-use decision-making. In this case, change can only take place when the state organisations at both the central and the local level have the political will to install change in its institutions. Another capacity-related factor is the lack of funds allocated for the process of public participation as the annual development fund, unless it is donated from an international party, does not include any allocation for the process (staff training and implementation costs). This is mainly related to the absence of a proper regulating framework which could institutionalise the process.

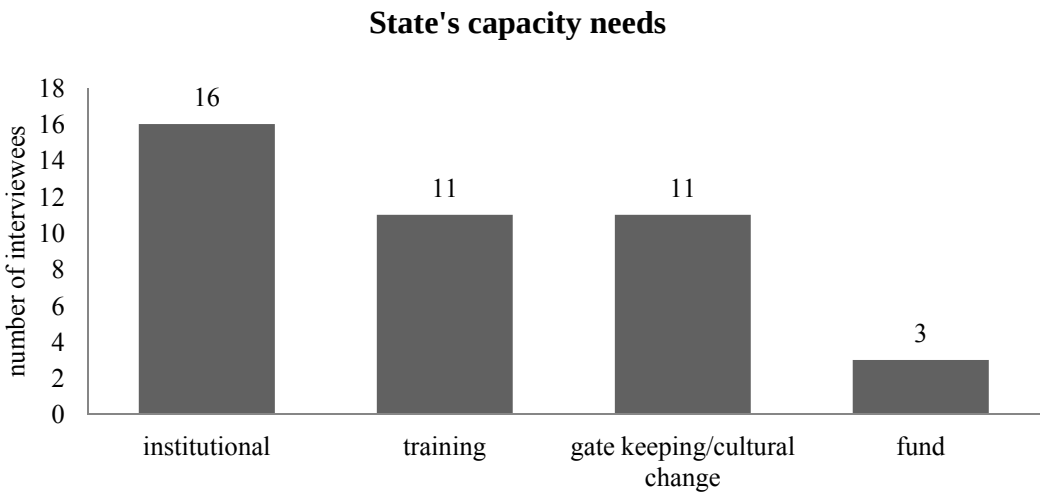


Figure 7-3: The state's capacity needs to facilitate civil society participation in urban development
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

On the other hand, there are concerns regarding the civil society capacity needs to cope with the process of participation. The major capacity need is the lack of awareness among the public of, first, the importance of being a part of some form of civil organisation regardless of its scale and, second, the importance of them participating (see Figure 7-4). The majority of the public have no membership in any form of civil organisation, even at the smallest neighbourhood level. This keeps a great part of the public excluded from the process of development as these are out of reach even when targeted by participation. Furthermore, the public lacks awareness of the importance of its participation in the first place. This is reflected in the poor response to participation techniques (when used) on one hand, and the individuality of many concerns on the other. The latter means that the public seem to be distant from any proposed development aims and targets and the discussion in any public meeting, where only a few care to attend the discussion, does not extend beyond very local concerns of immediate services (e.g. road paving, electricity poles, etc). This lack of awareness, even with the assumption that the state is trying to reach out to the public, threatens to keep a considerable section of civil society distant from the formal process of participation including those who are directly affected by it. This can only result in unresponsive, and consequently unsustainable developments that do not cater to local needs.

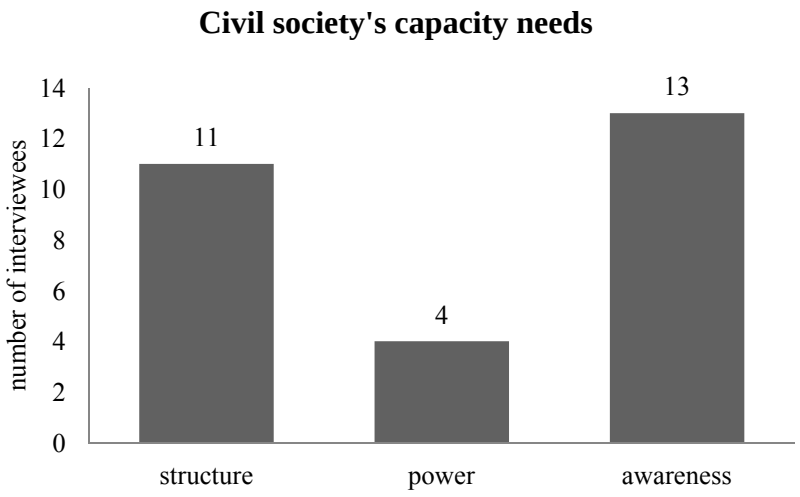


Figure 7-4: The civil society's capacity needs to participate effectively in urban development
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Another major concern is related to the lack of proper structure of civil society. Despite the fact that there is a wealth of organisations that have the potential to include a wide range of civil society segments, the functions of these are limited to a narrow field of interests. This results in keeping wider society actions (political, social and economic) restricted to the other society actors. Furthermore, these organisations are not well connected or, in other words, represented within the spheres of other society actors. This puts further control of the development process in the hands of the state and the private sector leaving civil society with minimum power over urban development decision-making. This gap between civil society and the process of development cannot deliver sustainable urban environments.

On the other hand, informal types of urban development are based on a contrasting form of relations among society actors. Land-use decision-making of this type is dominated by the civil society while the state's role is as a provider of services and infrastructure. The private sector in its informal shape also has a major role to play in the process, functioning as a land supplier, developer and service provider. The relations among the three society forces in this type of development are informal and based on horizontal relations.

This type of development has proven to be successful in practice in supply and demand. This is because of the involvement of the consumer in the development process as

he/she is in immediate contact with the progress of the development at a very early stage. Furthermore, the private sector is functioning in accordance with the demand of the majority of the public when it secures service delivery that is responsive to local needs. Nonetheless, this system of service provision is considered to be of a short-term nature due to the fact that it is processed outside of, and sometimes in contrast to, formal development plans and regulations. This results in a constant threat of demolition to any informal type of development for the benefit of the formal development plan or a formally approved private development as explained earlier. It also means some more complicated issues cannot be dealt with – e.g. geological issues.

Consequently, there is constant tension between the local community within the informal development areas and the state development organisations as the former sees the state as an enemy and the latter, although recognising the importance of the local community in these areas as an effective form of civil society, does not consider that they have the right to participate in the formal form of development even when it targets their areas. On the contrary, the planning authorities see these communities as some form of outlaws who should accept any development proposal targeting their areas.

The informal segment of civil society does have a strong input into shaping the built environment, so it is definitely 'participating' in the urban development process. This form of participation, however, is different from the northern module of participation and is taking place via channels of kinship among society actors. Still, it is a form of participation, because participation basically means, as defined by Burns (2004 p.2), that "communities are playing an active part and have a significant degree of power and influence". This does apply to the informal segment of civil society, so it is 'participating'. What is needed here is to make this form of 'participation' formally recognised to maximise its opportunities and reduce its threats. However, regarding civil society participation in the context of this form of development, the tension between the state and the public within informal developments is reflected in their attitudes. In this, the state has no formal regulations or channels through which to approach the communities of these areas. Besides, the state faces a difficulty in surveying the communities in these areas due to their constantly changing social characteristics and absent clear structure that represents them. Furthermore, the community in these areas (and this is a common issue that concerns even the

communities within formally developed areas) lacks the awareness of the importance of enhancing their relationship with the state via properly elected representatives. In practice, the communities of these areas are threatened by the state and only approach local authorities to seek infrastructure for their already built development, and this mostly happens via informal channels based on horizontal networks of relations.

7.2 2 Institutional overview

Mental models

The Syrian context literature review and the research primary data analysis showed that all key informants agreed on the importance of civil society participation in arriving at a more sustainable urban development environment that is responsive to local needs. However, data analysis showed that the civil society participation process as introduced by international agencies is still not formally regulated as a requirement for urban development decision-making. The only formal access for civil society to decision-making is via the REC according to Decree 5/1982 and its amendment Law 41/2002 where representatives from development related organisations are invited to a meeting with the officials in the local authorities to approve a development draft.

Another form of access for the public is available via the regular meetings between the neighbourhood committees and their local ESD. These meetings however are usually regarding social services within the area and do not often concern issues of land-use decisions. Other means of participation for engaging a wider sphere of the public in land-use decision-making are still not institutionalised. This keeps the effect of civil society on land-use-decision-making very poor (see Figure 7-5), causing barriers for urban development processes to reach more sustainable levels.

The effect of the formal structure of civil society on land-use decision-making

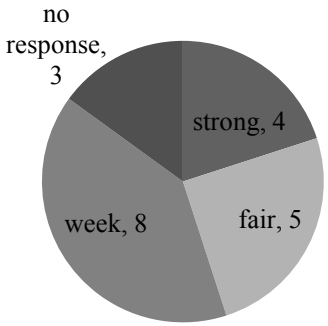


Figure 7-5: The effect of the formal (vertical) contents of civil society on land-use decision-making
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

The absence of a legal framework to regulate participation as a long-term process keeps a great section of the public distant from the development process and this affects the sustainability of any urban product. This has resulted in the public seeking alternative means to secure their needs via establishing a socially accepted framework built on horizontal networks among society actors. This has allowed greater access and even control for civil society in its informal form over land-use decision-making. However, the development resulting from this form of participation is considered by planning authorities to be informal and, furthermore, a barrier to urban development.

Therefore, a number of laws and regulations have been issued to limit informal development processes. These deal with issues of demolition and/or regulation, which might be of benefit to the proposed development plan or private investment within the related area is. However, the local authorities claimed to have had difficulty in following laws or regulations due to the complexity of the social structure of these areas and the impossibility of surveying them and regulating their households and other related developments which is time-consuming and considered by local authorities to slow down the development process.

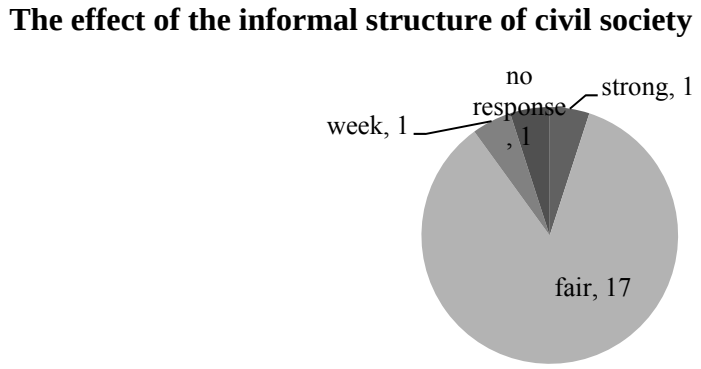


Figure 7-6: The effect of the informal (horizontal) contents of civil society on land-use decision-making
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

This uncertainty in the regulations regarding informal developments causes the effect of civil society on land-use decision-making to be of a short-term nature, as these developments are under constant threat of demolition. Therefore, the effect of the informal form of civil society on land-use decision-making is considered by research key informants to be fair, as it is massive in terms of the size and pace of the urban product, yet it is temporary (see Figure 7-6).

Organisational structure

When investigating the barriers that hinder facilitating participation, as shown in Figure 7-7, the major barrier was related to the organisational structure of urban development institutions within the Syrian context. It was quite surprising, however, that none of the interviewees referred to information type and sufficiency as a barrier to participation.

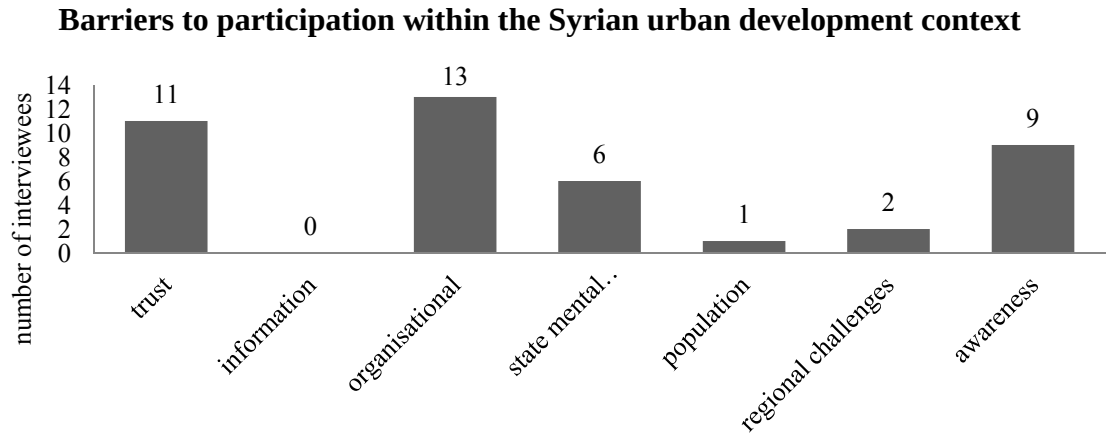


Figure 7-7: The key barriers civil society participation within the current urban development context
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

The urban development organisational structure in relation to the previously discussed participation mental models only allows a weak/fair level of representation for civil society within the planning process (see Figure 7-8). This representation is not only infrequent - it does not include all society segments either. However, this cannot be blamed only on the planning authorities for not allowing the organisational space for greater long-term input for civil society, but also on the lack of awareness among the public of the importance of being a part of a recognised organisation where proper representatives are elected to facilitate a constant connection with the planning authorities and to convey the local needs on urban-development decision-making. Creating this positive attitude among the public to seek formal representation within planning authorities is to a great extent related to building trust between the state and civil society. This requires planning authorities to show responsiveness to local issues being raised and, furthermore, constant initiatives of engaging with the public regarding developments affecting their areas. In this, the state's will to engage with the public is of great importance as no initiative to engage the public can be approached without adopting a change in the state's mental models and its centralised decision-making tradition.

Civil society representation in planning authorities

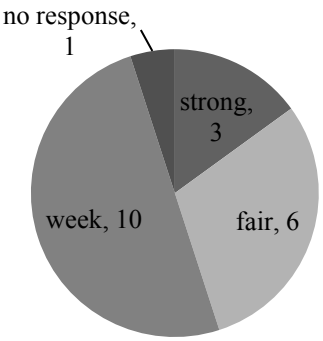


Figure 7-8: Perception of civil society representation in planning authorities
Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

The organisational barriers are not only related to creating space for better long-term representation of civil society groups and organisations, but also to the absence of the organisational structures to carry out the process of participation. On one hand, the planning authorities, at both national and local levels, have no unit that can maintain constant contact with the public or even implement a participation process as a part of

any development process and this applies to both the private sector and civil society organisations. This is due to both the absence of a regulatory framework as discussed before, and also a lack of capacity to carry out the process as discussed in the previous sub-section of actors and their spheres of relationship.

However, and with the assumption that capacity is available to implement the process and as shown in Figure 7-9, the private sector is not seen by the research informants to have the integrity to implement participation. Thus, the state and/or the civil society were seen by the research informants to be more reliable for this. Nonetheless, having an impartial party that can be employed either by the state or the civil society was also a suggestion in order to increase the reliability of participation. The pilot projects where public participation took place employed a mixed team of local authority officials and international study party members from the state's sphere, and members from the formal CSOs that could secure better contact with the public. This was seen as more suitable than any process dominated by one party, public or private.

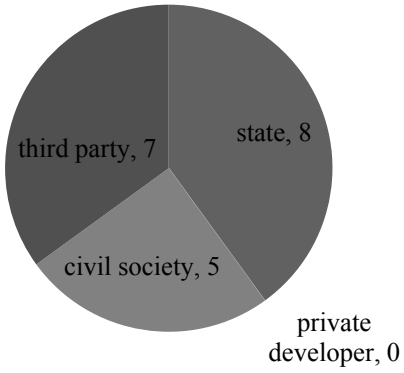


Figure 7-9: The perception of potential executor party of practicing participation
The source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Nonetheless, regardless of the approaches to implement civil society participation, the process can only achieve progress and efficiency when it is closely monitored by planning authorities in order to define areas of strength and weaknesses in the pilot projects and set improvement plans for the process to potentially be regulated and built into the organisational structure of decision-making. However, and as shown in Figure 7-10, the field investigation has shown that there is an absence of such mechanisms and

the pilot projects are still individual pilots under the influence of the international donors without a wider vision to institutionalise the process.

Despite these barriers to institutionalising participation, there are a number of positive characteristics within the urban development governance context that can create the opportunity for participation to be a long-term formal requirement for land-use decision-making, and these are shown in Figure 7-11. The best practice provided by the international study parties in the pilot projects is a learning opportunity for the planning authorities to build-on, especially as this practice is applied to a variety of developments of different characteristics and solutions. Besides, and this is one of the key issues to facilitate participation in the first place, at the national level the state seems willing to adopt change in the governance of urban development and open to some form of greater input from civil society in decision-making. This has the potential to stimulate the creation of a regulatory framework for the process and create an institutional space within the organisational structure of decision-making.

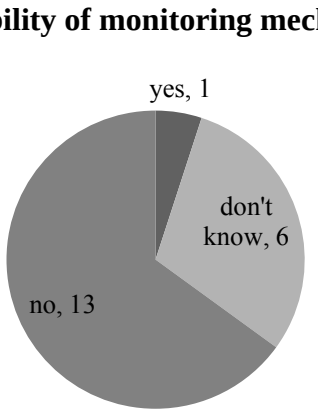


Figure 7-10: The perception of monitoring mechanism availability for participation experiments within planning authorities

The source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

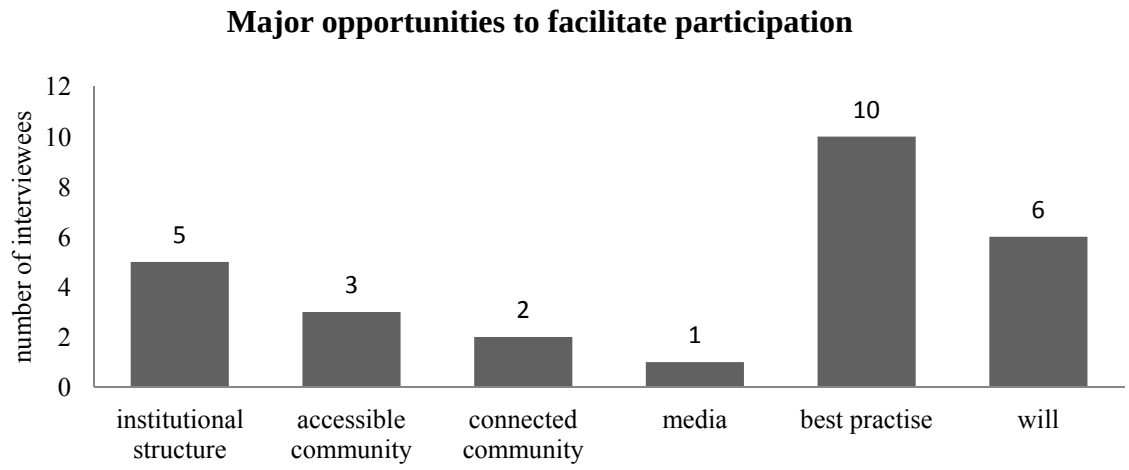


Figure 7-11: Key opportunities for facilitating civil society participation within the current urban development context

Source: The author, based on the interviewees' responses

Furthermore, Syrian society is accessible to the state as it has a well established base of organisations that can be built-on to further reach out to a variety of civil society segments. Besides, Syrian society, and this is a common characteristic in the countries of the South, is very well connected via its horizontal structures. These forms of structure can be formally recognised and better represented in order to access certain civil groups excluded from the formal structure of civil society. In this, formal connections with the leaders and representatives of these structures can be created starting at the very local level. This has the potential to help both the authorities to understand these groups and their constant changes, and the civil society to secure more responsive service delivery.

7.2.3 Summary of analysis key findings

To conclude the key findings of this research, it is acceptable to say that there are two types of development process taking place within the current urban development governance context in Syria, namely formal and informal. These are built on two different forms of land-use decision-making. According to the analytical framework and key themes chosen for this research, the actors, mental models and organisational structure for each are as shown in the following table (Table 7-1). The table also describes the key characteristics of civil society participation process taking place in each type of land-use decision-making.

Table 7-1: Summary of urban development institutional analysis findings with emphasis on civil society participation

Area of analysis	Type of land-use decision-making	
	Formal land-use decision-making	**Informal land-use decision-making**
Actors and their type of relationship	All society actors take part in this, the state, the market in its formal form and civil society via its vertical structure	All society actors, the state, the market mostly in its informal form and civil society via its horizontal structure.
	capacity • The central government is aware of the importance of civil society participation. • The local government lacks the will and the capacity to regulate and implement the process. • Civil society lacks the power of proper representation and multidimensional structure and function. • The public lacks awareness of the importance of being well represented.	*capacity* • The state lacks the will to consider the public in these areas as partners in the development process. • This form of civil society is not represented in planning authorities. • The characteristics of this form of civil society are constantly changing. Thus, it is difficult to survey local needs.
	attitude • There is a lack of full recognition of civil society among the local authorities. • The local authorities lack the will to engage the public. This is reflected in gate-keeping behaviour and one-actor management of development decisions. • Civil society lacks trust in the state.	*attitude* • The state views the public in these areas as an effective, yet unstructured form of civil society. • Constant tension between the state and civil society. • The state views the local community here as outlaws who should act in accordance with the state's will. • The local community is threatened by the state.
	type of relations Formal type of relations under great control from the state.	*type of relations* Informal type of relations with great influence from civil society and the market.
Mental models	• Land-use decision-making is regulated by Decree 5/1982 and its amendment Law 41/2002. • There are internationally driven guidelines emphasised by UNDP to facilitate civil society participation in different aspects of society. • Civil society is emphasised in the national development plans (10th FYP). • Civil society consultation was implemented in pilot projects in some major cities (e.g. Damascus and Aleppo) but only when the development is internationally funded. • No formal framework to regulate civil society participation process in land-use decision-making.	• A socially accepted framework for land supply and service provision. • There are international guidelines and some internationally funded studies to survey these areas in order to arrive at development strategies that considered their local communities. • A number of central laws to demolish and/or regulate informal developments for the benefit of the development plan or the private investments targeted to these areas. • No formal framework to engage the local communities of these areas in any form of development targeted to their areas.

Organisational structure	• A hierarchical structure under central government control. • A limited space is available for CSO representatives' occasional input in the REC in the local authorities. • Regular meetings are held with neighbourhood committees in the ESD at the local level but this is in relation to service provision.	• A collaborative structure of relations among society actors based on kinship. • Good access for civil society to land-use decision-making at early stages of the development. • No formally recognised organisational structure that contains entities to connect the civil society with planning authorities.
Civil society participation process	• Top-down civil society participation process within the limits of public consultation. • The process is carried out as a requirement for international funding. • The process is still a one-time opportunity and not formally regulated. • There is an absence of will within the state organisations, at least at the local level, to have other partners in land-use decision-making.	• Bottom-up civil society participation process with independent control of civil society over land-use decision-making. • The process has proven to secure a successful, yet short-term service market. • The process is not formally accepted by planning authorities. • The process cannot deal with more complicated development issues.

Source: The author

The table shows that in the case of the formal land-use decision-making, civil society is an **actor** in the process via its vertical structure. However, both the state and civil society lack the required capacity to implement a wider participation process. Furthermore, issues of state will and civil society lack of trust have caused a negative attitude towards the process. Furthermore, urban development formal **mental models** still lack the regulatory framework to embed civil society participation as a wider long-term practice. The relevant urban development **organisational structure** is still of a hierarchical centralised nature where civil society has only a very limited access to land-use decision-making at the local level via the REC or ESD meetings. Other **participation practices** that took place were one-off limited consultation activities, and only when it was a compulsory requirement, where the related development was funded by a foreign party.

On the other hand, the informal urban development process allows greater access for civil society as a dominant **actor** in the process. This is despite the lack of capacity in terms of clear structure and long-term representation in planning authorities. This form of development, however, is highly opposed by the state, which creates constant tension with the civil society. The civil society in this form of development secures its access to development decision-making via socially accepted **mental models** that result in a collaborative **structure** of horizontal relations among all society actors. This structure is

not formally recognised and is lacking in different areas when dealing with more complicated development issues.

7.3 A vision of long-term institutionalised process in Syria for civil society participation in land-use decision-making

7.3.1 Empowering civil society in Syria

This research has has identified a considerable number of CSOs within the Syrian development context. These have different levels of power and areas of function, but all still have limited power over land-use decision-making. Therefore, empowering civil society is one of the key objectives of the 10th FYP in order to maximise the potential for CSOs to boost the development process, and this objective is also the aim of the cooperation between the Syrian government and the UNDP (this has been explained earlier in Chapter three). However, it is important to carefully consider the contextual characteristics of urban development governance where any form of change is to be adopted rather than building on internationally introduced normative concepts. Otherwise, change cannot achieve its potential in enhancing the sustainability of the process which is the ultimate goal. This has been explained by Mansuri and Rao (2004) who noted that "the naive application of complex contextual concepts like participation, social capital, and empowerment is endemic among project implementers and contributes to poor design, implementation [and outcomes]" (Mansuri, et al., 2004 p. 1).

The degree of civil society empowerment depends on the capacity to make choices and the institutional opportunity to make these choices (Mehchy, et al., 2007) and these two aspects of empowerment differ from one context to another. The key point of importance, thus, is to develop contextual indicators that can measure the level of participation that civil society enjoys over land-use decision-making. The World Bank (2002) has proposed four key measurable elements of civil society empowerment. These are access to information; inclusion and participation; accountability; and local organisational capacity. In order to make such a measurable framework beneficial, in response to Mehchy (2007), these should be considered within the Syrian context with awareness of the local urban governance characteristics which may suggest additional indicators (Mehchy, et al., 2007).

The analysis of civil society as an actor in the urban development process showed a considerable lack of capacity which is a barrier to its empowerment. The capacity needs were mainly awareness and structure-related. On one hand, it was evident in the analysis that the public lacked awareness of the importance of being properly structured and represented in planning authorities in order to gain, as Skidmore et al (2006) expressed it, a "formal" and potentially long-term access to participation in land-use decision-making. On the other hand, civil society in Syria, and this is common in the countries of the South (Carley, et al., 2001), is of two dimensions, vertical and horizontal. The latter is more active in the urban development process but is considered outside the sphere of civil society targeted by development programmes. This is due to its 'problematic' characteristics, lack of structure and lack of representation (Abrahamson, 2000).

This attitude towards the informal part of civil society is due to lack of awareness, mainly at the local level, of the wide sphere and multi dimensional nature of civil society described by Devas (2001) and Carley et al (2001) which considers the informal structure of civil society a vital and greatly effective aspect of social relations, especially in relation to the countries of the South. Here, urban development is to a great extent affected, and sometimes controlled, by this form of civil society. Therefore, the exclusion of this form of civil society from the formal process of urban development has driven it to seek alternative access. This is via channels and relationships based on kinship, where a mixture of both legal and illegal frameworks is used (Healey, 2007; Jenkins and Wilkinson, 2002).

Therefore, it is important to recognise this section of civil society in the Syrian context and seek means to engage it in the formal course of development rather than considering it a problematic opponent to the development process, as this section has proven to be capable of providing a successful service supply via its strong connections with other society actors as explained in the analysis of the second case study of this research.

It is important to recognise that empowerment is not a development paradigm (Mehchy, et al., 2007) and it does not necessarily facilitate civil society participation in land-use decision-making. Similarly, to engage civil society in land-use decision-making does

not necessarily mean that it is empowered. Thus, in order to facilitate participation it is not enough to empower civil society, but it is vital to understand the current formal and informal frameworks that shape the organisational structure of land-use decision-making and enable formal participation mental models that can permit the space and the function of the process within the current urban development organisational structure, and this is the topic of the following discussion.

7.3.2 Enabling participation mental models

It was discussed earlier in the literature review in Chapter two that the urban development regulatory framework is the determinant of levels of participation in urban development process and, thus, regulating participation is vital in order to provide the space and enable the functioning of the process. In this, UNDP is working with the Syrian government to develop development policies and legal frameworks in different governance areas including urban development (UN 2011a). In response, public consultation was carried out as pilot projects in different developments around the country and this was explained earlier in chapters three and five.

Nonetheless, and in agreement with Burns and Heywood (2004), consultation is not the same as participation, which allows a greater influence over land-use decision-making. However, this is a positive start by the local authorities towards a different form of land-use decision-making. The threat here, however, is for this to be a one-off opportunity. This is, to a great extent, related to the local authorities' lack of will to move to a more negotiable approach of land-use decision-making rather than the process being exclusive to them. Therefore, there is a need to promote a culture change in the local authorities to reduce bureaucratic mindsets and traditional 'gate keeping' roles which usually result in a narrow perception of who should be involved in land-use decision-making (Marginn, 2004 p. 44).

To make participation a long-term process, it is fundamental to create a legal framework that makes the process a statutory requirement for land-use decision-making in order to let the public and private sector engage adequately in urban production and, consequently, secure a more effective urbanisation process (reflecting on Folger et al., 1995). However, it is important to recognise the fact that the concept of participation in

this sense and as introduced by UNDP is essentially a Northern[176] concept which was a result of urban policy-making development. Furthermore, civil society in the countries of the South, as explained earlier in this chapter, is of a more complicated two dimensional structure, vertical and horizontal, with the second being more effective in service delivery (Carley, et al., 2001). This form of civil society is based on the bases of culture or ethnicity rather than being integrated with the political, economic or social aspects of the society and polity (Hijazi, 2010). Furthermore, this form of civil society has gained access to urban development decision-making via informal socially accepted frameworks which were formed to compensate out-dated formal regulations (Azevedo, 1998; Healey, 1997; Jenkins, et al., 2002).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, ignoring this horizontal structure of civil society and its informal function in the process of institutionalising participation is a naive approach and can potentially threaten the aim of achieving an efficient participation process. Therefore, during the process of policy-making in this context, it is important to consider both society structures in a legal framework. In addition, it is important to understand the informal mental models that shape the function of this section of civil society, as these have proved to be effective and sufficient for responsive service provision.

Therefore, the development of a formal legal framework that adopts civil society participation as a long-term statutory requirement for land-use decision-making should be contextually based, with recognition of the unique structure of civil society in the countries of the South, including Syria. Besides, it is more beneficial to understand the origins and build on the areas of strength of the kinship-based informal frameworks that affects urban production rather than working in isolation.

Another important issue to raise is the need to maintain a clear vision of civil society participation and how this can be incorporated within land-use decision-making. This, to a certain extent, is available in development policies at the national level, but it is absent at the local level. Therefore, it is important to carefully develop contextual monitoring and evaluation systems at the local level where the local authorities are in

176 The origins of the concept of participation in urban development are from the countries of the North, as since the late 1960s and early 1970s the law made public consultation a statutory requirement for urban decision-making (Sewell, et al., 1977 pp. 6-8).

direct contact with the local community. Only this can help to monitor any participatory approach and can help to define areas of strength in the process to build on and areas of weakness to develop in relation to urban development policy-making.

7.3.3 Creating space for participation within urban development organisational structure

The South is shifting to more decentralisation in government (McCarney, et al., 1995; Wekwete, 2004), and this is also the case in Syria, which has created local entities that can potentially relate better to the public. Thus, the development process has the potential to become more reflective of local needs. These entities are, to a certain extent, able to maintain contact with the local communities at the level of neighbourhood via ESDs regarding service provision. Besides, the local authorities have, at least in policy, maintained contact with SCO representatives via REC meetings.

However, and as discussed earlier in this chapter, civil society is still largely excluded from the practice of land-use decision-making in the long-term. This is due to the constant lack of space for civil society input within the organisational structure of urban development as a reflection of the absence of a regulatory framework for civil society participation as discussed in the subsection above. This limits the chance for civil society participation to have an effect, even in the form of consultation, on land-use decision-making and to become infrequent and dependent on the local authorities' perception of who to consult/engage (Marginn, 2004).

Regarding the informal areas on the other hand, the local authorities view public participation as unrealistic (reflecting on Abrahamson, 2000) due to lack of organisation and formality. This prevents the local authorities from achieving an understanding of characteristics and needs of the public in these areas. Therefore, it is important to support further decentralisation of local authorities to reach these areas via local units that can constantly survey the changing social characteristics in the area and maintain constant contact with the local community via its socially recognised local members who can act as local representatives.

This has the potential to engage the communities of the informal settlements in a formal form of participation and enable their needs to be recognised by local authorities.

Besides, maintaining this constant contact at the local level creates the opportunity to understand the informal channels of relations among society actors and incorporate these in a formal organisational form. This has the potential to formalise informal civil society participation to achieve sustainable land-use decision-making rather than working in separation, resulting in competing development products. It is fundamental, however, to understand the fact that the creation of civil society participation organisational space can only be achieved with the will of planning authorities and this relates back to the key input of the mental models of participation.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an institutional analysis of civil society participation in land-use decision-making at the national level in order to fully answer the research questions first answered at the local level in the previous Chapter six. These questions are:

1.4 What type of governance, state-market-civil society relationship, currently exists in Syria?

2.1 What form of urban development organisation currently exists in Syria?

2.3 What participation mechanisms currently exist in Syria in terms of urban development?

This chapter has reflected that urban development governance in Syria is based on two sets of relationships between the society actors of the state, the market and the civil society, formal and informal. These are the channels of the formal and informal urban production. The first is via the legal institutionalised process of land-use decision-making which is highly centralised and dominated by planning authorities. Civil society therefore has only limited and occasional access to land-use decision-making at the local level via SCO representatives. The function of the market in this process is regulated in order to reap the development profit rather than meet social needs. Civil society participation as a concept introduced by international agencies was applied within the limits of consultation in a number of pilot projects but still has not been formally institutionalised. This is due to lack of capacity on both the state and civil society sides. However, this is mainly related to lack of political will at the local level to

change the land-use decision-making tradition from rational and centre-based into a more relative negotiable form.

The chapter also explained the informal land-use decision-making which is highly effective in the built environment in the country. This is dominated and controlled by the horizontal structure of civil society and the informal form of the market. The state therefore only has a complementary role as a facilitator for service and infrastructure provision. This process is based on a socially accepted framework of relations based on kinship among society actors. Despite the success of this form of land-use decision-making in providing a responsive service market, the production of this process is short-term and under constant threat from the authorities who perceive this as a problematic barrier to urban development.

The chapter then presents a view for change towards institutionalising the civil society participation process. This is to respond to the following research questions:

3.1 How applicable are civil society participation policies, as promoted by the UNDP, to the urban development institutional context in Syria?
3.2 Which areas can be developed in the urban development institutional context in Syria in order to establish long term collaborative governance especially in terms of state-civil society relationships?
3.3 What alternative, potentially more efficient, participation mechanisms can be adopted within the urban development organisational forms in Syria?

In this, the chapter has explained the uniqueness of the urban development context in Syria and the need to consider civil society participation related terms and policies introduced by the international agencies via UNDP in context. The author therefore recommended three areas for change. These are related to empowering civil society, changing mental models of participation and creating organisational space for participation. The first emphasises the need to empower civil society and build its capacity via contextually-based development programmes and empowering mentoring systems. However, this is also dependent on capacity issues related to the planning authorities especially in relation to its perception of civil society and the purpose of its engagement.

This requires the introduction of a culture change to urban development mental models where the planning authorities can start to accept partners in land-use decision-making and thus develop a legal framework to institutionalise civil society participation as a long-term process. The framework should be built on a clear vision of civil society participation which recognises the characteristics of civil society in both its vertical and horizontal structures and further understands both the formal and informal channels of relations among society actors in the Syrian context.

The understanding of these channels and their related organisational forms is key to being able to create a long-term organisational space for civil society input to land-use decision-making. This requires enhancing the current entities where interaction with civil society is taking place and developing new entities where needed to maximise the contact opportunities with civil society in the long-term. Supporting decentralisation mechanisms is important in this relation despite the awareness that it is not a guarantee to increase civil society participation.

The chapter has arrived at the conclusion that in order to promote a wider, more efficient civil society participation process within the Syrian urban development governance context, change should be in the form of interrelated factors of empowerment, mental models and organisation building. Although it is important to work in co-operation with the international agencies and to benefit from international best practise, change should be contextually-based with a clear understanding of the unique structure of civil society in Syria and its relationship with other society actors. Otherwise, change will be naive and will only result in poor implementation and outcomes.

The following Chapter eight provides a reflection of the key research results and recommendations on the wider sphere of urban governance literature and policy. This is followed by a summary of the answers of the research objective and key questions and how these led to the fulfilment of the research aim. Furthermore, the following chapter introduces the research contributions to theory, method and knowledge. This is followed by an agenda for future theoretical and empirical research.

Chapter eight: Research conclusions and contributions

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the research purpose, conclusions and recommendations and how these answered the research objectives and related questions. The chapter then reflects on the findings of the research within the Syrian urban development governance context as related to the wider literature and policy of urban governance. This is to achieve a progressive understanding of the concept of civil society participation within the Syrian urban development institutional context. The research contributions to theory, method and knowledge are then presented, followed by a summary of the research limitations. The chapter concludes with an agenda for relevant future theoretical and empirical research.

8.2 Research purpose

Syria has experienced economic and social changes over the past few years under the influence of the UNDP. These were reflected in the 10th FYP where the concepts of 'civil society', 'participation' and 'governance' were introduced. This has affected the urban development context where a new approach to land-use decision-making has been exercised. However, the efficiency of this new approach to achieve more sustainable urban products and service delivery is questionable.

Thus, this research analysed the urban development decision-making process in Syria as a form of planning governance with emphasis on civil society participation. In this, the research examined the importance of carrying out an institutional analysis of the governance and polity where it is intended that internationally promoted development policies will take place. This was in terms of both the mental models and organisational forms. The research therefore argued for the necessity of promoting a proactive

approach to enabling civil society participation in Syria and other countries of the South, built on the institutional urban development context - rather than a normative approach developed in isolation from the context of its target. Hence, this research is located within the paradigm of new institutionalism as explained in chapters one and two earlier. In this, the research provided answers to questions of who takes the decisions and how these decisions are made within the current development institutional context in Syria. These are explained in detail in the light of the research objectives in the following sub-section.

8.3 Research conclusions

The research conclusions here are summarised by presenting the answers of the research objectives and their questions.

Table 8-1 below presents the first objective and its research questions. These have been answered in chapters two, three, five, six and seven.

Table 8-1: The first objective and its research questions

The objective	**Objective 1:** To highlight the importance of the relationship between the institutional context and the process of civil society participation in theory and international development policy.
The related research questions	1.1 What are the main forces in the society who are in control of development decision-making? 1.2 What is the position of civil society in the governance sphere, as addressed in both theory and international development policy? 1.3 What is the institutional context of land-use planning, in terms of both the mental models (which form the planning governance context) and the organisational forms (which reflects and further affects this context), and how does this allow the space to form and guide an efficient mechanism of civil society participation? 1.4 What type of governance, state-market-civil society relationship, currently exists in Syria?

Source: The author

In response to research question 1.1, Chapter two has provided a literature review of different approaches to define urban development actors in society. These were identified as the state, the market and civil society, highlighting the wider sphere of civil society compared to that of community organisations and its multi-structural nature and local/international relations. Furthermore, the chapter reviewed the changing positions of power of each actor and how this affected the relations among them and, consequently, urban development decision-making.

When responding to research question 1.2, Chapter two first defined the concept of governance as the sphere of relationships between government, actors of civil society and the private sector, also referring to the processes of interaction between these. This is with awareness of the constantly evolving nature of the definition. The chapter then addressed the theoretical definition of participation and the different interpretations of the concept and its effect on urban development decision-making.

The chapter then reviewed the theoretical arguments and international agencies' views on the role of democracy, decentralisation and their resulting urban development legislation on determining the position of civil society and institutionalising the process of participation in urban development decision-making in any given governance context.

In order to respond to research question 1.3, Chapter two reviewed the meaning of 'institutionalism' in social sciences within urban development contexts, and examined a number of examples of institutional approaches to examining urban planning by different authors. Then, the chapter presented the adapted analytical framework used in this thesis along within a commentary that showed the author's understanding of the interactive nature of the local and global spheres of urban development governance and, in this, the institutional approach to examining civil society participation in urban development decision-making in any given governance context.

Chapters three, five, six and seven all have **contributed to answering research question 1.4**. This was undertaken by first reviewing the Syrian context and the literature related to the chosen case studies in chapters three and five and, second,

analysing the research primary data to provide answers on the local level in Chapter six and then extrapolating these to provide answers on the national level in Chapter seven. In this, it is acceptable to say that there are two types of urban development governance in Syria, formal and informal. The first is highly centralised giving the state a great dominance over urban development decision-making. Besides, the private sector activities have been boosted in favour of the formal private sector, but these are still controlled by the state, making profit and financial gain the main motivation for its urban activities. Civil society in the formal form of governance has a limited effect, if any, over urban development decision-making. This form of governance is formally institutionalised via legislative frameworks and resulting organisational forms which provide limited space for the actors' interaction. The UNDP is contributing to changing this form of relations among society actors by giving greater power to civil society in different aspects including urban development-decision-making. This has been initiated at the national level but has still not been formally institutionalised at the local level.

The second, informal form of governance is a result of the incapability of the first to respond to the local needs of different sections of civil society. This is based on relations of kinship and other horizontal relations among society actors, via socially accepted frameworks that secure a responsive supply. In this form of governance, civil society, in its horizontal structures, enjoys a wide sphere of influence over urban development decision-making. However, urban development decision-making in this form of governance and its resulting urban product are seen to be of a short-term nature due to the fact that this is considered by the state as an opponent to formal urban development legislation and thus is under constant threat from the state. Nonetheless, it is relevant to note that there were some attempts to introduce new laws that could potentially help to solve ownership problems within the informal areas, but these have not yet been implemented.

In answering these four research questions, the first objective of the research was fulfilled. Table 8-2 below presents the second objective of this thesis and its related research questions. These are answered in chapters three, five, six and seven.

Table 8-2: The second objective and its research questions

The objective	**Objective 2:** To examine the mechanisms of civil society participation in urban development decision-making in Syria in terms of land-use taking place within the planning institutional context.
The related research questions	2.1 What form of urban development organisation currently exists in Syria? 2.2 What are the civil society participation policies that are encouraged by the UNDP in Syria? 2.3 What participation mechanisms currently exist in Syria in terms of urban development?

Source: The author

In response to research question 2.1, Chapters three, five, six and seven have addressed – both at the local level of the case studies and at the national level – the fact that Syria has a government-centred hierarchical organisational structure for urban development decision-making which allows limited access for other society forces. This structure suffers the effect of a complicated framework of legal instruments that creates isolation between the central and the local planning authorities and between the planning and the implementation departments within the same authority, causing land-use decisions to be out-dated and a forum for conflict.

In order to answer research question 2.2, Chapter three – and this was partly presented in Chapter two earlier – reviewed the UN's emphasis on participation being a fundamental prerequisite of sustainable development and a component of good governance. Thus, the UN via its UNDP has urged the Syrian government to take a more democratic transition in the governance of the country. This is reflected in the recent 10th FYP (2006-2010) emphasising decentralisation of government, boosting market activities and investment, and finally empowering civil society participation in the development process. UNDP has been providing policy advice and technical support to strengthen the capacity of institutions and individuals towards institutionalising civil society participation in all society activities including the urban one.

When answering research question 2.3, Chapters three, five, six and seven have shown that there are two forms of participation in urban land-use decision-making in the Syrian context, formal and informal, with the latter being far more effective in providing service supply that reflects local needs. The formal form of participation is limited to occasional access for CSO representatives to decision-making in the local authorities and regular meetings with neighbourhood committees at the very local level of the authorities but only in relation to local services. However, there are some pilot projects that have applied public consultation as a new approach to a more collaborative decision-making process but this is still not formally institutionalised.

Answering these three research questions has contributed to fulfilling the second objective of this thesis. The third objective and its related research questions are presented in Table 8-3. The answers for these have been provided in Chapter seven.

Table 8-3: The third objective and its research questions

The objective	**Objective 3:** To discuss what form of civil society participation is most likely to be efficient to deliver the 10th FYP objectives in achieving a potentially sustainable development.
The related research questions	3.1 How applicable are civil society participation policies, as promoted by the UNDP, to the urban development institutional context in Syria? 3.2 Which areas can be developed in the urban development institutional context in Syria in order to establish long term collaborative governance especially in terms of state-civil society relationships? 3.3 What alternative, potentially more efficient, participation mechanisms can be adopted within the urban development organisational forms in Syria?

Source: The author

In response to research question 3.1, the analysis has highlighted the uniqueness of the Syrian urban development context and the power relations among its actors. Besides, the analysis illustrated the multi structural nature of civil society in Syria and the different forms of urban development decision-making processes. In this, both chapters six and seven clarified the need to carefully adopt any introduced concepts with awareness of the urban development governance context in the country. This

emphasises the need for flexibility in the design and implementation of any internationally introduced development concepts and/or programmes, such as civil society participation, rather than adapting normative approaches which can only result in poor application.

Chapter seven **responded to research question 3.2** by recommending three areas for change. These are related to empowering civil society, enabling participation mental models and providing great space for participation organisation development. The first emphasises the need to empower civil society and build its capacity via contextually-based development programmes and empowering mentoring systems. This, however, is suggested with awareness of the fact that the state's will for change is a key factor for enabling any development programmes in the country. Therefore, a cultural change of the tradition of centre-based urban development decision-making is seen by the author to be fundamental for change to take place. This is to contribute to enabling the development of a legal framework to institutionalise civil society participation as a long-term process.

This framework, **and this responded to research question 3.3**, should build on a contextually clear vision of civil society participation which recognises the characteristics of civil society in both its vertical and horizontal structures and should also understand both the formal and informal channels of relations among society actors. The understanding of these channels and their related organisational forms is key to being able to create a long-term organisational space for civil society input to land-use decision-making.

In relation to the **research aim** of investigating the position of civil society in urban development decision-making in Syria, the thesis concluded that it is possible to respond to the international agencies' invitation to promote wider, more effective civil society participation. This requires a form of interrelated factors of empowerment, mental models and organisational building. This, however, should be contextually-based with a clear understanding of the unique structure of civil society in Syria and its relationship with other society actors. In other words, change should be flexible and action-oriented based on the institutional analysis of the given context, rather than being an international normative approach.

8.4 Reflections on urban governance theory and policy on the basis of the Syrian experience

Civil society participation has been used in the countries of the North as a tool to achieve wider democracy in society (Young, 1990). It has been discussed in Chapter two that participation is not a given result of democracy and decentralisation (McCarney, et al., 1995), as despite the shift of many new democracies in the South towards more decentralisation, these have adapted only the minimum of participation models, arguing that these are unrealistic in the process of decision-making (Abrahamson, 2000). This was reflected in the case of Syria especially in the case of Qassyoon informal settlement. This, in most of the cases of the countries of the South, is due to the mind-set of the state of being unsure or unwilling to give up power over decision-making (Marginn, 2004; Kauzya, 2004). Furthermore, economic realities, resource mobilisation and allocation, and consuming relations within the governance context, generally act in an informal way in the case of Syria, as in other countries of the South - but are vital in order to determine the level of influence civil society has over urban development decision-making (Alexander, 2008; Smith, 1999). Therefore, despite the acknowledgement of Douglass's (1998) argument of the civil society having the competitive power to affect, and sometimes control, urbanisation and further design frameworks for collaboration with other society actors, it is naive to view urban development merely from a point of view based on a normative concept of power, as this fails to fully understand the links between social forces and how these 'allow' the channelling of civil society participation in urban development decision-making.

In this regard, it is vital to understand that social actors are complex entities, and decentralised decision-making is an ideal (Carley, et al., 2001; Alexander, 2008). Thus, to understand the position of civil society in the urban governance context requires an institutionally-based analysis of the context. Here society actors' relations and mental models (which have proven to be multi-dimensional and highly complex within a context similar to Syria) and their resulting organisational structures, need to be understood (Carley, et al., 2001; Jenkins, et al., 2002; Healey, 2007; McCarney, et al., 1995).

Most participatory approaches encouraged by international agencies are essentially 'participation as means', employing the concept of 'power to': where "their confidence in themselves, their personal and collective abilities to exercise power within existing structural and institutional constraints can ...be enhanced" using bottom-up approaches (Nelson, et al., 1995 pp. 17-18; Jenkins, 2007). This often ignores the arguments based on the concept of 'power over' where power needs to be contested – and assumes that top-down empowerment approaches can be used (Nelson, et al., 1995 pp. 17-18; Jenkins, 2007).

In this, internationally promoted empowerment policies create some political opportunities at the national level "in which civil society actors seeking change may engage, demanding greater transparency and accountability, participation in policy formulation and monitoring, or formal mechanisms for redress" (Gaventa, 2007; Scholte, 2002). This, however, embeds the risk of "re-enforcing dominant power, as to be effective civil society must become a part of the project of govern mentality" (Gaventa, 2007). Therefore, an "invisible side-effect logic of the development apparatus" may incorporate trapping a vast array of community groups in "even more distant clusters of power and undermining their resistance" (Nelson, et al., 1995 p. 11). Furthermore, the will of those who have 'power over' to 'empower' other society actors via institutional change is highly questionable. This raises the threat of turning the bottom-up 'power to' building approaches into top-down 'power over' preserving mechanisms. Thus, it is important for bureaucrats and researchers who are in charge of the empowerment process to maintain a reflective position in order to identify gaps between the 'ideal' and 'real' when promoting institutional change (Nelson, et al., 1995 pp. 11-18). This is needed in order for participatory projects to benefit from a stronger focus on synergy between society actors. This is to minimise any tyrannical potential the related participatory projects may have (Cooke, et al., 2001; Hauschildt, et al., 2006).

Therefore, it is important to understand that 'empowerment' is not only about who does or does not participate at one decision-making level, but "how power or its absence at one level shapes mobilisation and action in another, linked together by highly interconnected networks and rapid diffusion of information and knowledge" – i.e.

'power through' concepts (Gaventa, 2007). Besides, structures of power are "multi-layered" and "inter-related", and this changes from one context to another - making empowerment options vary according to each given context (Page, et al., 1999; Gaventa, 2007). Therefore, for participation to be efficient, it must be built on a critical analysis of the power structures within the given context – not just "deliberation over ready-made themes". In this, real participation is a "political matter" (Straume, 2010; Jenkins, 2007).

The UN Programme for Democratic Governance and Civil Society Empowerment, which is functioning in Syria via UNDP providing policy advice and technical support on the national level, has emphasised civil society participation as a fundamental prerequisite for sustainable development and a key component of good governance (UN, 2011a). Civil society enabling policies promoted by UNDP have been concerned with issues of capacity building for both the state and civil society organisations. This is important yet insufficient to enable civil society participation. The enabling policies have not addressed issues related to the state's will to enable an institutional space for participation within the urban development legal framework. Furthermore, the enabling policies only provide advice and support on the national level, while the local level is still trapped in its bureaucratic tradition of centralised urban decision-making. This has created a gap in civil society participation understanding between the different levels of the state's urban development organisations. More importantly, the enabling policies have not acknowledged strategies to deal with the multi-dimensional nature of civil society and its relations with other society actors. Arguably, these shortcomings of enabling policies have kept the policies in isolation from the real political and institutional aspects of the Syrian urban development context.

In short, it is valid to say that there is a contradiction between the 'ideal' civil society participation enabling policies promoted by UN and the 'reality' of the urban development context in the countries of the South. This is because these policies are based on a 'power-to' concept in terms of governance, whereas empowering civil society participation in urban governance is related to the wider political economic and social context and, thus, dependent on the society actors' mind-set and its resulting organisational relations – whether one prefers a 'power-over' or 'power-through' concept. As such it is contested in this thesis that a more proactive approach is required

to enable civil society participation in urban development decision-making, that considers the institutional context of urban governance in any given context and the embedded power relations – as well as what is desirable and possible for the actors within the system.

8.5 Research insights into urban development empirical and normative theory and policy

The preceding discussion shows that the analysis of civil society participation in urban development, by applying mere theoretical approaches to explain the nature of society actors and their relationships in any given context, has limitations. In addition, the discussion argues that internationally promoted enabling approaches and participation policies are not immediately applicable to the governance context in Syria as predicted by the international agencies. Therefore, the adoption of an institutional analysis of the concepts 'civil society' and 'participation' have the potential to increase the empirical understanding of urban development decision-making as a process within a given governance context. This is by identifying society actors and explaining how these interact in accordance to their accepted frameworks that shape their organisational structures and define their areas of intersection. This is to understand how society needs are addressed and delivered by - in the case of this research - the process of land-use decision-making. This can further provide a basis for normative approaches that can be applicable in similar urban development contexts to that of Syria.

Research contribution to empirical theory and policy

The analysis of civil society participation as undertaken in this research provides a basis for overcoming theoretical limitations, as it allows political, institutional and cultural aspects of society to be addressed rather than adopting the theoretical pre-assumptions of the roles of society actors to be state centred, neo-liberal or civil society-based. In this, the research argues that planning should no longer be viewed as a zero-sum power game limited to organisations, but needs to be considered in the form of complex multi-actor inter-organisational systems.

Therefore, the analytical tools in this research provide insights into the nature of society actors and their relationships in relation to urban development decision-making process. These can be applied in any given context, rather than pre-ssuming the relationships between actors; they can help to understand the nature of society actors relations in the studied urban development governance context as has been accomplished in the case of Syria in this research.

The understanding of civil society participation in urban development has been enhanced, and dependent on, a political economy analysis which examines the relationships of the society actors within the given context. In the case of Syria, and as showed in Chapter three, there has been considerable changes within the governance context under the impact of the UNDP since the year 2000. These include enhancing the decentralisation of government, boosting market activities and empowering civil society; which were embedded in the national development policy in the 10th FYP (2006-2010). For this, a number of legislative frameworks and capacity building programmes were put into action in order to facilitate a wider sphere of power to local government, support private investments and encourage the formation and activities of CSOs.

However, development governance in Syria is still highly centralised, and local government is still working under close monitoring and control from central government. In addition, the market, which is still far from meeting local needs, is still controlled by the state via investment regulations. Furthermore, the activities of CSOs are limited and controlled by the central government, the matter that makes these CSOs' activities not reflective enough of the community groups they represent. These limitations of the market and the CSOs contribute to the existence of a more active and responsive segment of society; the informal. This has proven to be more successful in terms of service delivery via its horizontal networks of relations with all society actors; the state, the market and the CSOs. Nonetheless, this segment of society is primarily based on socially accepted frameworks of kinship among society actors and is recognised to be problematic in urban development legislation. This has created a tension between the state and the informal form of civil society, as these are working according to separate agendas, causing conflict and slowing down the process of urban development decision-making.

This context of urban development governance in Syria has resulted in a hierarchical organisational structure for land-use decision-making which is controlled by the state. In this, a limited inconsistent space is allowed for civil society, and only in its formal form, to participate, leaving a huge segment of society outside the process. Moreover, this structure suffers from a complicated legal framework which causes fragmentation between planning authorities bodies and even between the planning and implementation departments within a single authority. This is in addition to issues of lack of representation of community groups within these authorities and consistency of them being involved in the decision-making process. Therefore, and as the analysis in this research showed, the opportunity for a formal form of civil society participation in urban development decision-making is very limited, and only, if existent, in the form of consultation. Even the attempts for a wider form of participation encouraged by the international agencies who were involved in a number of development projects in the countries did not exceed beyond being a one-off opportunity exclusive to these particular projects.

These limitations in the legal framework and the resulting organisational structure, as shown in chapters six and seven, have kept civil society participation opportunities to the minimum and in accordance to the state's will. Consequently, issues of lack of trust and negative attitudes towards the process have made the civil society distant from the formal urban development process, leaving it far from being responsive to their needs. Therefore, a bottom-up participation process has been widely practised to compensate for the lack of responsive service delivery achieved by the formal routes of urban development decision-making. However, this informal process is not consistent with the legal framework of urban development and is highly opposed by planning authorities, making its resulting products short-term.

Based on the previous analysis, the analysis in this research, then, moved to another level to discuss issues of power practice among society actors in Syria, as the national development policies have addressed the need to empower civil society to become an active partner in development decision-making. This is with advice and support from the UNDP. However, these enabling policies did not address issues of the state's will to install 'change' in its approach to development decision-making. Furthermore, these

policies did not acknowledge the multi-dimensional nature of Syrian society and its resulting formal and informal channels of service delivery. Thus, the institutional analysis carried out in this research revealed a contradiction between civil society participation empowerment ideals and the reality of the governance context in Syria. This presents a case for these policies to be proactive and built on power-structure analysis of the given context, rather than by application of ready norms which fail to address the relationships between society actors and how these allow the regulation and organisational space for civil society participation in urban development decision-making. Otherwise, the naive application of these internationally promoted norms can only result in an inefficient and poor application of civil society participation process.

However, the recent events in Syria taking place since March 2011 has set the urban development governance to change, where a new form of power practice will occur among society actors. Thus, the relationships among society actors, their mental models and resulting organisational structures also will change. Therefore, another institutional analysis should be carried out before enabling programmes are applied in the urban development context of Syria. These, furthermore, should be context-based and aware of the multi-layered and inter-related changes that will take place within the power structures in the future. This fact emphasises further the research argument for the need to adapt a proactive approach to enable civil society participation in urban development decision-making built on an empirical political economy analysis of the given context in order to promote a sustainable urban product.

Research contribution to normative theory and policy

The empirical analysis of civil society participation in urban development in Syria, as introduced in this research, provides a vision regarding possible institutional change that can be introduced to the governance context in the country. In this, normative theory can be constructed on context-based indicators; overcoming the generality of zero-sum power approaches between society actors, as well as the generalisation of empowerment approaches and participation policies promoted by international agencies. The extrapolation of this vision as a general or universal theory, however, is limited by the circumstances of each given context, as argued earlier in this thesis.

Installing participatory approaches within the urban development context in Syria is not as simple as expressed in UNDP policy statements. This is rather deeply related to the state's will to adopt change in its approach to development decision-making, where it can accept 'partners' in the process. Besides, the state's development approach is turning to become profit-oriented and involved with business interests. However, the growing financial weakness of the state is a barrier to its central approach to service delivery. This emphasises the need to find institutional solutions where other society actors can be involved in the process.

On the other hand, the state is trying to move towards a western model of open-market economy in its development policy making, similar to that encouraged by the WB, where more flexibility and freedom is given to local and foreign investments. However, the analysis in this thesis showed that formal market-driven service delivery within the context of Syria is remote from being responsive to local needs of civil society, especially in relation to low-income groups, given the fact that the private sector and market relations are relatively well established compared to other countries of the South. The state, however, seems to be aware of this limitation in its national development policy. Therefore, it has emphasised that the approach to development is socio-economical, where profit is oriented to be in accordance with societal needs. Nonetheless, the analysis in this thesis showed that the application of such an approach is unrealistic under the circumstances of a central development decision-making process, where such needs are poorly addressed.

The analysis in this thesis further showed that the formal segment of civil society is well established in terms of organisational structure. However, the relationships of this form of civil society with other society actors, the state and the market, are not responsive enough to deliver local needs. Moreover, the analysis addressed the state's efforts to apply the UNDP socially oriented development approach to empowering civil society, however, the analysis also showed that the application of this is still limited to small areas of community groups' interests, excluding wider political, economic and social issues in the society. This is reflected in the process of urban development decision-making which is still exclusive to the central government.

Despite this, the analysis of civil society participation in Syria showed that civil society is continuously active and successful in terms of service delivery. This, however, is in relation to the informal segment of civil society which has established a successful service delivery system based on relationship networks with other society actors, the state and the market. This suggests potential for these networks of relationships to be formally channelled to improve civil society access to development decision-making in the long-term. The empirical analysis in this research, however, highlighted that neither the role nor the potential of the informal form of civil society is recognised in the international approaches to empower civil society.

The analysis, therefore, suggests that the adoption of the enabling approaches as suggested by the UNDP has potential. However, for this to be achievable is a political matter, where issues of power structure should be considered. Moreover, civil society should benefit more from existent channels of relationships with society actors and develop the needed organisational structures that can gain access to the formal process of development decision-making. This is not likely to be whole heartedly supported by the state or the market, but by other well institutionalised CSOs (universities, NGOs, professional unions, etc) which can provide capacity and maintain a mature vision of civil society participation in urban development decision-making. Still, this is not likely to be achieved only by civil society.

In the light of the analysis of the concepts of civil society participation in urban development within the governance context in Syria, a number or recommendations are proposed as a contribution to normative theory and policy. These are expanded on in the previous chapter and also summarised later on in this chapter.

8.6 Research contributions to theory, method and knowledge

To theory

This thesis supports a participatory approach to urban development decision-making. However, the thesis maintains a postmodern view of civil society participation in urban development. In this, the research criticises the theoretical approaches to participatory planning that are based merely on the analysis of zero-sum power[177], but promotes a more institutional approach to viewing planning, as discussed in the above sub-section, based on a comprehensive analysis of the given urban development context.

In this, the thesis emphasises the need to review international 'enabling' policies and draw more attention to key issues like long-term interaction among society actors and organisational change in the institutional context of urban development in countries like Syria, calling for more proactive, contextually-based, approaches to viewing planning - rather than promoting universally applicable approaches that can be far less beneficial in urban governance contexts similar to that of Syria.

To method

This thesis used a case study approach where data was discussed and analysed according to an analytical framework. Although this method is not innovative, it proved to be effective in providing in-depth analysis of the research topic, especially in this case of difficult access to primary and secondary data. The case study approach and its related primary data collection methods used in this research played a complementary, yet essential, role in overcoming the significant lack of literature and reliable statistics available. Therefore, the thesis emphasises the importance of case study research as a parallel approach to literature based research and statistical surveys, to conduct in-depth analysis especially in countries like Syria, which have limited research-based resources.

To knowledge

The research looks at civil society participation in urban development decision-making as a component of 'good' urban development governance. This is within an institutional

[177] Examples of these are the state-based Marxist approach, the neo-liberal market-based approach and the third sector civil society-based approach.

analysis of the urban development context in Syria which has identified key actors, their mental models and organisational structures. In this, the thesis is considered to be an important contribution to the body of knowledge available about urban development in Syria in general, which has proven to be very limited to date. More importantly, this thesis greatly contributes to bringing a new focus in researching civil society participation and urban development governance, which is unprecedented in relation to the Syrian urban development context and one of only a few available studies in relation to countries of the South of similar urban development governance contexts. Furthermore, the thesis brought together a wide range of Syrian urban related literature in a clear structure that can be considered a source for reference in future research.

Besides, a key contribution of this thesis is providing a qualitative in-depth analysis of urban development decision-making in Syria. This has been a subject for some studies undertaken by JICA, MAM and GIZ which greatly contributed to deepening the understanding of the process of development and highlighting areas of strength and weakness in it. However, these studies did not provide a sufficient analysis of civil society and its position in the process. Furthermore, these studies were theoretically-based on internationally accepted development concepts and policies rather than being built on an institutional analysis of the Syrian urban development context in order to arrive at a contextually-based understanding of issues for development. Therefore, this thesis does consider these studies as a source of reference but further provides a more context-related institutional analysis of the urban development decision-making process, with focus on the position of civil society in this.

This thesis builds on the works of other authors, as a general understanding of the formal process of urban development decision-making was previously introduced by Haddad (2009) in her PhD thesis, while the informal process of urban development was highlighted within the context of housing development in the city of Aleppo by Wakely & Abdul-Wahab (2010; 2009). However, this thesis is more concerned about the application of an institutional approach to urban development decision-making process in Syria with focus on civil society participation. In this, the thesis adds to the body of knowledge of the application of this approach to understand the governance context of the countries of the South. This has been extensively studied by Jenkins, Wilkinson, Carley, Smith and Healey as indicated in research references.

8.7 Research limitations

Different challenges occurred during this research in relation to the data collection process. These have been detailed in the methodology in Chapter four and summarised here as a reminder to the reader. Secondary data collection was challenged by the limited availability of civil society and participation related research within the context of Syria. This is due to the long tradition of the state's 'power over' other society actors, which minimised attention to these actors resulting in little research in this relation. Furthermore, literature on Syrian governance and power decentralisation was only available via the UNDP, where only normative views on these were addressed. This made addressing local views on these issues challenging and only traceable via primary data collection methods. In addition, urban development related research in Syria was old, limited, patchy and mostly in the form of grey literature. In addition, context related facts were provided by different, yet contradictory, sources. This meant that triangulation of data was widely used in this research in order to verify facts.

The process of collecting primary data was influenced by a number of challenges. Field trip time limitation was an issue that caused overlapping of tasks to occur and a limited number of interviews to be carried out. Due to the lack of formal sources to identify and seek the research interviewees, snow-ball sampling was used to target research informants. Those, however, were not representative of their social spheres, yet were able to provide the author with a good understanding of their social spheres and relationships within the urban development context at the time of the field trip. Nonetheless, the informants showed a conservative attitude towards the interview questions. This was reflected in providing 'ideal' responses, limited answers and even, sometimes, refusal to carry on with the interview. This was due to the state being in the position of full 'power over' decision-making regarding different aspects of society. Therefore, research informants were very aware of their interests while responding to the interview questions.

The underdeveloped understanding of the concepts 'governance', 'civil society' and 'participation' among participants from the three society spheres was also a challenge to this research. Therefore, limited and, sometimes, irrelevant answers were provided. This

caused the author to carry out different forms of interviews in order to conduct sufficient data to inform the research objectives.

In addition, the changes currently taking place within the Syrian context form a key challenge to this research and its findings. This is because these changes are re-forming the current administration system in the country. This has the potential to change the current balance of power among society spheres and their resulting institutional forms. In turn, this will be reflected in the urban development governance context where changes in development mental models and organisational forms will take place. Thus, carrying out an institutional analysis similar to the one presented in this thesis may result in different outcomes. This, however, is a typical characteristic of the contested nature of society forces in any given context. Therefore, it is essential to carry on with further research to examine the potential changes in the urban development context in Syria and the new social relationships due to occur in this. Nonetheless, this research is still a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the current context of urban development governance in Syria and the position of civil society in it.

8.8 Summary of research recommendations

Based on the institutional analysis of civil society participation in land-use decision-making within the current urban development governance context in Syria, and on the discussion introduced in detail in Chapter seven, the author proposes three key areas for development to contribute to a long-term institutionalised process of civil society participation in land-use decision-making. Despite the fact that each area is a massive topic that needs separate studies before seeking any recommendations, the author suggests a number of key points for action in order to develop each area. The areas for future development are *empowering civil society*; *enabling participation mental models*; and *creating space for participation within the urban development organisational structure*. These were discussed in detail in the light of the related literature, along with the reasons that contributed to their recommendation in the previous chapter. Here is a summary of these areas and their related key points of action.

The first area is **empowering civil society**, which is a key recommendation of the 10th FYP (2006-2010) and the main objective of the UNDP in Syria. This is to maximise the input of the CSOs as a partner in the development process, as these are high in number but have limited power over land-use decision-making. The analysis further identified the key barriers to civil society empowerment as the lack of both awareness of the concept of 'civil society'; and the inclusive institutional structure of urban development.

The civil society of countries of the South is characterised by its two dimensions, the vertical (formal) and the horizontal (informal), and Syria is no exception. However, this research showed that the formal recognition of civil society among society actors excludes a huge segment, and this is the informal form of civil society. Thus, in order to clarify those targeted by empowerment policies, it is vital to raise the awareness of the multidimensional nature of civil society in Syria as a single continuum including two forms, formal and informal, when targeted by capacity building programmes and engagement pilot projects. On the other hand, as empowerment depends on the capacity and institutional opportunity to make choices, it is vital to carefully consider the possibilities for these within the governance context where empowerment policies are intended to be applied. Thus, the naive application of the UNDP internationally promoted empowerment policies has the potential to fail to achieve its objective. Alternatively, it is important to develop context-based civil society empowerment programmes, monitored by appropriate contextual indicators in order to build the power of civil society and maximise the benefits of its formal engagement in the development process.

This research recognises the importance of understanding the current formal and informal regulatory frameworks that shape the process of land-use decision-making in order to facilitate participation. This led to the recommendation of the second area for development; **enabling participation mental models**. In this, the UNDP is working with the Syrian government to develop the legal framework of urban development decision-making. This requires, and this is partly included in the first area of recommendations, the development of a context-based legal framework for SCOs that recognises both the vertical and the horizontal structures of civil society. This, however, requires understanding of the socially accepted frameworks that shape the informal relations between society actors and also analysing the possibility of institutionalising

these relations. Delivering the latter will make it possible to create a contextually grounded legal framework that regulates the process of civil society participation as a requirement for land-use decision-making.

However, civil society participation policy-making is very much dependent on the state's will to accept change. Therefore, it is vital to promote culture change among state organisations to accept partners in development decision-making, instead of the long tradition of the process being exclusive to the state. Furthermore, it is very important to maintain a clear vision for civil society participation supported by well-designed monitoring and evaluation systems, not only on the national level which is closely monitored by the UNDP, but at the very local level where local authorities are in direct contact with the local community.

The development of participation legal frameworks leads to the **creation of organisational space for civil society participation**, which is the third area for development recommended in this research. Similar to other countries of the South, Syria is moving further towards decentralisation in government by creating local entities that can potentially relate better to the public. Nonetheless, the research showed that the local community is still distant from the process of urban development, and the current attempts of public consultation are only a one-off experience forced by international development donors. This is due to the lack of a constant space for civil society participation within the organisational structure of the planning authorities even at the local level. Therefore, in order to facilitate participation, even if only in the form of consultation, it is vital to create the needed organisational space for civil society participation - in the local authorities or as third party organisations - where the process is designed, implemented and reported to the planning authorities at an early stage of the development. Furthermore, it is important to enhance and maximise the benefit from the current organisational channels among society actors in order to facilitate the creation of more long-term organisational spaces, where representatives of different society spheres can interact regularly. In addition, the analysis in this research highlighted the need to further support instruments for decentralisation to arrive at local entities at the smallest local level in order to achieve better understanding of the community and its needs.

These research-based three areas of recommendation are seen to contribute to an efficient long-term civil society participation process in land-use decision-making in Syria. This has the potential to introduce the concept of 'participation' to other areas of development in the country as a component of what the 10th FYP and the international agencies describe to be 'good governance' (UN, 2011a; SPC, 2005).

8.9 An agenda for future research

Theoretical research

The theoretical concepts and framework defined and used in this research has great potential for further development. The concepts of 'governance', 'participation' and 'sustainable development' are evolving and open to critique and refinement. Therefore, there is a need to continuously examine these and how they are linked together. Furthermore, the accepted methods to analyse these are open to change and development. In addition, civil society participation requires further examination in relation to other related contested concepts of 'political systems', 'open market economy' and 'social movements'.

The development of these concepts and the institutional analysis framework has the potential to contribute to the creation of a context-based approach rather than the naive application of merely theoretical approaches to collaborative planning and the generalisation of international agencies' enabling policies, especially in relation to the countries of the South. This requires further research that critically examines the enabling policies of UN and WB theoretically and empirically.

Empirical research

Within the Syrian context, the conclusions arrived at in this thesis are valid. However, further empirical research is required in order to achieve more reliable results for extra verification. In this, more case studies could be examined, applying further qualitative and quantitative data collection methods, in order to build a more comprehensive base of data. Furthermore, other complementary areas for analysis should be examined to assist the understanding of civil society participation in urban development including: urban development markets and urban development finance systems in both their formal

and informal operational forms and how these function within the state/market/civil society relations.

Besides, changes in the current context of urban development governance will potentially occur due to the recent reforms taking place in the administration system in the country. This makes carrying out further institutional analysis essential in order to develop understanding of possible civil society participation changes in terms of both mental models and organisational forms.

In addition, and still within the context of Syria, other areas are still in need of research. These include: the current forms and areas of function of community-based organisations; civil society empowerment in terms of both policy making and implementation; opportunities for community self-management in the light of decreasing access to affordable services; the informal networks of communication between society actors; and the contribution of civil society participation to different areas of sustainable development.

Within a more general context, an international comparison with other research studies that used similar approaches of analysis would contribute to the development of a widely applicable framework to examine civil society participation within similar urban governance contexts in the South. Furthermore, the comparison of research that examines the efficiency of applying international agencies' enabling policies would contribute to identifying their limitations within similar contexts of the South and develop ways to overcome these in order to arrive at more efficient results. Nonetheless, this research analysis and results still hold a considerable level of importance as a contribution to fulfilling this purpose.

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Wakely, P., & Abdul-Wahab, R. (2009). *Rapid Profiles for all Informal Settlements in Aleppo.* Aleppo: GIZ, Syrian-German Technical Cooperation; UDP, Programme for Sustainable Urban Development; C2, Integrated Urban Development Aleppo.

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Appendices

Appendices

Appendix 2-1: The United Nations Development Programme UNDP key tasks

UNDP has a long and extensive history of partnership with non-governmental organizations extending over 30 years. In the early years of engagement UNDP partnerships with CSOs were primarily for implementation of projects and delivery of services. In 1990 with the launch of the Human Development Report, whose inspiration was drawn in large part from civil society, UNDP partnerships with CSOs were increasingly. Today partnership with civil society is centrally important to UNDP.

UNDP counts among its potential CSO partners intermediary NGOs, cooperatives, service organizations, community-based organizations (CBOs), indigenous peoples' organizations (IPOs), youth and women's organizations, academic institutions, and religious organizations.

In its efforts to strength its policies and procedural methods to collaborate more effectively with Civil Society, UNDP has created the CSO Division, as a part of the Bureau for Resources and Strategic Partnerships (BRSP). The Division provides programme support and guidance to country offices to strengthen their capacity to work with CSOs. In close collaboration with the Bureau for Development Policy (BDP) and the regional bureaux, the division also supports strategic processes of civic engagement at local, regional, and global levels. The CSO Division is composed of:

- A CSO Advisory Committee to the Administrator, established in May 2000. The committee is composed of civil society policy leaders from around the world, provides ongoing advice and strategic guidance to the Administrator and senior UNDP management on future policy directions.
- Regional and National mechanisms; UNDP counts on CSO advisors at regional and national levels to foster a process of policy dialogue and advice with the resident coordinators and senior management in country offices. The CSO Division has also supported the establishment of regional expert networks of

CSOs to provide quality policy advice, training, research support and exchange of best practices.

- A CSOs Advisory team. It has been set up by the CSO Division in coordination with civil society focal points in regional and substantive bureaux and CSO advisors in UNDP regional centres in the field. This global 'virtual' network serves as a forum for dialogue and advice on strengthening strategic civil society engagement with UNDP.

This is copied from (ITU, 2006 p. 5)

Appendix 2-2: UN views on Governance

In the community of nations, governance is considered "good" and "democratic" to the degree in which a country's institutions and processes are transparent. Its institutions refer to such bodies as parliament and its various ministries. Its processes include such key activities as elections and legal procedures, which must be seen to be free of corruption and accountable to the people. A country's success in achieving this standard has become a key measure of its credibility and respect in the world.

Good governance promotes equity, participation, pluralism, transparency, accountability and the rule of law, in a manner that is effective, efficient and enduring. In translating these principles into practice, we see the holding of free, fair and frequent elections, representative legislatures that make laws and provides oversight, and an independent judiciary to interpret those laws.

The greatest threats to good governance come from corruption, violence and poverty, all of which undermine transparency, security, participation and fundamental freedoms. Democratic governance advances development, by bringing its energies to bear on such tasks as eradicating poverty, protecting the environment, ensuring gender equality, and providing for sustainable livelihoods. It ensures that civil society plays an active role in setting priorities and making the needs of the most vulnerable people in society known. In fact, well-governed countries are less likely to be violent and less likely to be poor. When the alienated are allowed to speak and their human rights are protected, they are less likely to turn to violence as a solution. When the poor are given a voice, their governments are more likely to invest in national policies that reduce poverty. In so doing, good governance provides the setting for the equitable distribution of benefits from growth.

The UN system works closely with governments to achieve these ends. It also works closely civil society, a term which encompasses a wide range of organizations and groups from the private sector having varying interests and objectives, including professional, business, service, religious and recreational bodies. (Adapted from a UN Cyber school bus briefing paper on governance)

This is copied from (UN, 2011a)

Appendix 2-3: Democracy, Governance and Wellbeing

Democracy currently enjoys the status of a core value in the discourse of the international development community, where a consensus seems to have emerged that democracy improves the quality of public policies. It offers prospects for better citizen participation in the formulation of government policies and opportunities to ensure that office-holders are accountable, greater transparency in policy making, and conflict resolution through constitutional, non-violent, means. But the performance of many countries in promoting basic rights, public services and the well-being of citizens is inadequate. Many new democracies retain elements of authoritarian practices and seem unresponsive to voters' interests. It is not enough for countries to be democratic: the substance or quality of their democracies is equally important.

Research under this programme seeks to understand the conditions under which democratic regimes can improve the well-being of citizens. What are the intrinsic properties of democracy that can facilitate or constrain effective social development? Under what conditions can democratic regimes deliver adequate social protection to citizens? How do different democracies promote the well-being of citizens? And what role can social policies play in consolidating complex democratic transitions?

Two defining features of democracy are the periodic renewal of the mandates of leaders through competitive elections, and a set of basic rights of expression and organization that facilitate the exercise of political choice. In order to understand how these features of democracy can provide a basis for delivering good social outcomes, the research will focus on four areas: economic reform, organized groups and welfare development in middle-income democracies; political competitiveness, public expenditures and pro-poor policies in low-income democracies; the potential and limits of decentralization and public sector reforms in making services serve low-income groups; and the role of social policies in consolidating complex transitions to democracy.

UNRISD's work under the Democracy, Governance and Well-Being Programme Area for 2005-2009 focuses on the following aspects;

- Organized groups and welfare development
- Politics of poverty reduction

- Decentralization and service provision
- Social policy and transitions to democracy

This is copied form (UN, 2011b)

Appendix 3-1: An overview of the history of Syria

Syria has been the centre of the most ancient civilizations on earth since 2500 B.C. starting with Ebla, the capital of the great Semitic empire, and followed by the continuous occupations of Canaanites, Phoenicians, Hebrews, Arameans, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Nabataeans, Byzantines, and, in part, Crusaders before finally coming under the control of the Ottoman Turks till 1916 A.D.(U.S.Dept, 2007; Shihabi, 1990; Khair, 1969).

Furthermore, Damascus, settled about 2500 B.C. to be the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world, is significant in the history of Islam and Christianity; "Paul was converted on the road to Damascus and established the first organized Christian Church at Antioch in ancient Syria (U.S.Dept, 2007). Besides, Damascus' power and prestige reached its peak under the Muslim rule as the capital of the Omayyad Empire in 636 A.D.(U.S.Dept, 2007; Shihabi, 1990; Khair, 1969).

Following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire during World War I, an independent Arab Kingdom of Syria was established in 1920 (GlobalEDGE, 2009; U.S.Dept, 2007). Later that year, French troops occupied Syria after the League of Nations put Syria under French mandate. "With the fall of France in 1940, Syria came under the control of the Vichy Government until the British and Free French occupied the country in July 1941. Continuing pressure from Syrian nationalist groups forced the French to evacuate their troops in April 1946, leaving the country in the hands of a republican government that had been formed during the mandate" (U.S.Dept, 2007).

Although rapid economic development followed the independence of 1946, the country lacked political stability and experienced a series of military coups till 1954, when continued political manoeuvring supported by competing factions in the military eventually brought Arab nationalist and socialist elements to power. At this stage, the parallelism of Syrian and Egyptian policies brought the two countries to unite in February 1958 and form the United Arab Republic. The union government, centred in Egypt, brought all Syrian political parties to cease overt activities. This caused the union to last only till 1961 when the two entities separated, and the Syrian Arab Republic was re-established (GlobalEDGE, 2009; U.S.Dept, 2007).

Instability characterized the next 18 months, with various coups culminating on the 8th of March 1963, "in the installation by leftist Syrian Army officers of the National Council of the Revolutionary Command (NCRC), a group of military and civilian officials" who became in control of all executive and legislative authority. This was engineered by members of the Arab Socialist Resurrection Party (Ba'ath Party), which had been active in Syria and other Arab countries since the late 1940s. Afterwards, the country experienced a considerable stable life under its new government (U.S.Dept, 2007)

The new Syrian Government explored the possibility of federation with Egypt and Ba'ath--controlled Iraq. An agreement was concluded in Cairo on April 17, 1963, for a referendum on unity to be held in September 1963. Thereafter, the Ba'ath regimes in Syria and Iraq began to work for bilateral unity. These plans foundered in November 1963, when the Ba'ath regime in Iraq was overthrown. In May 1964 a provisional constitution was promulgated providing for a National Council of the Revolution (NCR), an appointed legislature composed of representatives of mass organizations--labour, peasant, and professional unions--a presidential council, in which executive power was vested, and a cabinet. "In 1966, a group of army officers carried out a successful, intra-party coup, dissolved the cabinet and the NCR, abrogated the provisional constitution, and designated a regionalist, civilian Ba'ath government" (U.S.Dept, 2007). This is described to be a rectification of Ba'ath Party principles to become further radical socialist. However, conflict developed between a moderate military wing and a more extremist civilian wing of the Ba'ath Party causing the unity among the three countries to be dissolved (U.S.Dept, 2007). In 1970, the Corrective Movement took place in Syria with the leadership of the socialist Ba'ath party and Syria was called the Syrian Arab Republic.

Shortly thereafter, an organizational infrastructure for the new government was created to consolidate control. The Provisional Regional Command of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party nominated a 173-member legislature, the People's Council, in which the Ba'ath Party took 87 seats. The remaining seats were divided among "popular organizations" and other minor parties (U.S.Dept, 2007; LoC, 2005; Parliament, 2000). In March 1971, the party held its regional congress and elected a new 21-member Regional Command.

In March 1972, the National Progressive Front (NPF), a coalition of 6 parties led by the Ba'ath Party, was formed and elections were held to establish local councils in each of Syria's 14 governorates. In March 1973, a new Syrian constitution went into effect followed by parliamentary elections for the 250 seats of the People's Council, the first such elections since 1962 and it takes place every 4 years with 67% of the seats for members elected from the NPF (according to the elections last held in 2003) (IFES, 2009; U.S.Dept, 2007; LoC, 2005; Parliament, 2000).

Despite international criticism, the government established in the 1970 became nationally popular for its ability to bring stability to the country after a series of attempted coups since 1948. This is in addition to the implementation of many social reforms and infrastructure projects. Public schooling and other reforms were extended to larger segments of the population, and a notable rise in living standards occurred. Furthermore, the government's secularism helped all religious communities to tolerate and support the government. Gradually, Syria increased its military strength and maintained a strong regional and Arab nationalist position supported by the state-controlled media. This may have brought criticism among international governments and agencies, yet, it was an effective way to unify the diverse and fractured Syrian society, install a sense of national pride among the populace and insure inner peace and stability in the country.

The regional policy of the government has targeted ensuring national security, increasing influence among its Arab neighbours, and achieving a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace settlement, which includes the return of the Golan Heights and forms the paramount foreign policy concern of the country (BBC, 2009; U.S.Dept, 2007; LoC, 2005). Internationally and throughout the Cold War, “Syria was within the Soviet sphere of influence, and received strong military support from Russia, but the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 initiated an improvement in ties with the West. For example, Syria joined the U.S.-led alliance against Iraq in the Gulf War. This cooperation brought better political and economic relations with the United States, the European Union, and oil-rich Arab states” (LoC, 2005 p. 20). However, the relations between Syria and the US experienced a dramatic decline since 2001. This was balanced with an increasing co-operation with the EU. This, however, has brought Syria into an increasing international attention since 2000, not only for its regional effect, but

for its integration with international economic and social agencies which was a part of the government's new modernisation policies since 2000 (see appendix) (CIA, 2011), (FCO, 2009; U.S.Dept, 2007; SPC, 2005; LoC, 2005).

The government since 2000 has experienced significant changes. As an attempt to integrate with the global economy and keep up with international competitiveness, and under the effect of the UN, a clear move towards modernisation was marked via the emphasis on economic development and privatisation on one hand and the boost of IT development on the other. Furthermore, steady yet careful steps has been taken towards decentralisation of power via the emphasis on improving human development statistics and increasing civil society autonomy through providing a wider range of private media means, developing local authorities and increasing the level of transparency between the state and society (e.g. all governmental organisation started to launch their websites where people can easily keep in touch with their related changes and developments and even comment and contact them via the web) (PMoS, 2009; OBG, 2008; SPC, 2005).

Appendix 3-2: Syrian population distribution among the 14 governorates in 2004

Table A3-3: A glossary of the english and arabic names of the 14 governorates of Syria

Arabic	English	Arabic	English
دمشق	Damascus	ادلب	Idlib
ريف دمشق	Rural Damascus	الحسكة	Al Hasakah
حلب	Aleppo	الرقة	Ar Raqqah
حمص	Hims	السويداء	As Suwayda'
حماه	Hamah	درعا	Dar'a
اللاذقية	Lattakia	طرطوس	Tartus
دير الزور	Dayr az Zawr	القنيطرة	Al Qunaytirah

Source: The author

Table A3-4: Syrian population distribution in percent among the 14 governorates 2004

Governorate	Urban	Rural	Total
Damascus	8.7	0	8.7
Rural Damascus	8.2	4.5	12.7
Aleppo	14.1	8.5	22.6
Hims	4.6	3.9	8.5
Hamah	2.8	4.9	7.7
Lattakia	2.5	2.4	4.9
Dayr az Zawr	2.5	3.1	5.6
Idlib	2	5	7
Al Hasakah	2.6	4.6	7.1
Ar Raqqah	1.7	2.7	4.4
As Suwayda’	0.5	1.2	1.7
Dar’a	2.1	2.6	4.7
Tartus	1.1	2.8	3.9
Al Qunaytirah	0	0.4	0.4
Total	53.5	46.5	100

Source: (CBoS, 2007a p. 26) translated by the author

Table A3-5: Syrian population distribution in thousands among the 14 governorates 2004 showing the difference between the survey's results and the civil records figures

Governorate	**Population in thousands**		**Population in %**	
	Enumeration	**Civil records**	**Enumeration**	**Civil records**
Damascus	1552	1572	8.7	7.9
Rural Damascus	2273	1536	12.7	7.7
Aleppo	4045	4674	22.6	23.5
Hims	1529	1791	8.5	9
Hamah	1385	1745	7.7	8.8
Lattakia	880	1081	4.9	5.4
Dayr az Zawr	1005	1286	5.6	6.4
Idlib	1258	1634	7	8.2
Al Hasakah	1275	1281	7.1	6.4
Ar Raqqah	794	782	4.4	4
As Suwayda'	313	428	1.7	2.1
Dar'a	843	883	4.7	4.4
Tartus	701	844	3.9	4.2
Al Qunaytirah	67	399	0.4	2
Total	17921	19936	100	100

Source: (CBoS, 2007a p. 27) translated by the author

Appendix 3-3: Syrian economy growth indicators

Syrian economy growth indicators:

Table A3-6: GDP and GNI of the Syrian Arab Republic

GDP and GNI		
	Year	**Latest data**
GDP (current US$)	**2007**	**38,080,888,832**
GDP growth (annual %)	**2007**	**7**
GNI per capita, Atlas method (current US$)	**2007**	**1,760**
GNI, Atlas method (current US$)	**2007**	**34,992,959,488**

Source: (WB, 2009a)

Table A3-7: SAR Growth of output

Growth of Output										
	GDP		**Agriculture**		**Industry**		**Manufacturing**		**Services**	
	average annual growth %		average annual growth %		average annual growth %		average annual growth %		average annual growth %	
	1990-2000	2000-05	1990-2000	2000-05	1990-2000	2000-05	1990-2000	2000-05	1990-2000	2000-05
SAR	**5.1**	**3.7**	**6.0**	**3.7**	**9.2**	**-0.7**	**...**	**29.6**	**1.5**	**5.9**

Source: (WB, 2007a)

JICA projection of the future socio economy of Syria:

According to JICA study which projected the Syrian socio-economy to the year 2025, "the per capita GDP would increase by 50% by 2015 to US$2,100 from the level in 2004 and further to US$3,800 by 2025. The population growth would decelerate as estimated by SPC, and the growth rates were set to decrease in steps to reach 1.67% per annum in 2020-25. Based on these assumptions, the Syria's GDP was projected to increase from US$24.9billion in 2004 to US$105.1billion in 2025 at the annual average rate of 7.1%. The GDP growth during this period may be supported by agriculture growing at the average annual rate of 3.0%, industry at 8.0% and services at 7.6%" (JICA, 2009a p. 2).

Unemployment in Syria facts and figures:

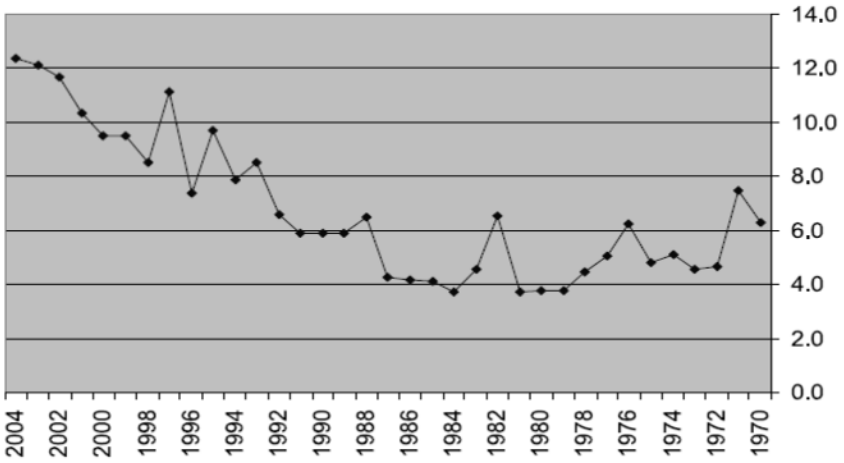


Figure A3-22: Unemployment figures in Syria between 1970 and 2004

Source: (Hasan, 2007 p. 34)

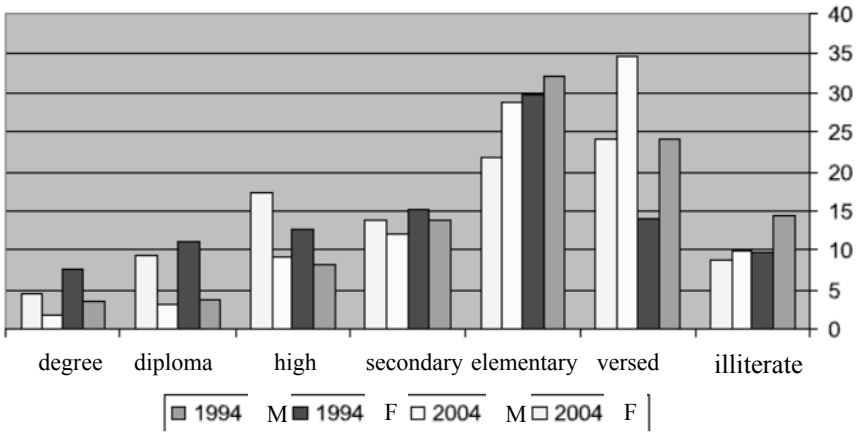


Figure A3-23: Education levels of unemployed people in percent: male and female 1994-2004

Source: (Hasan, 2007 p. 42)

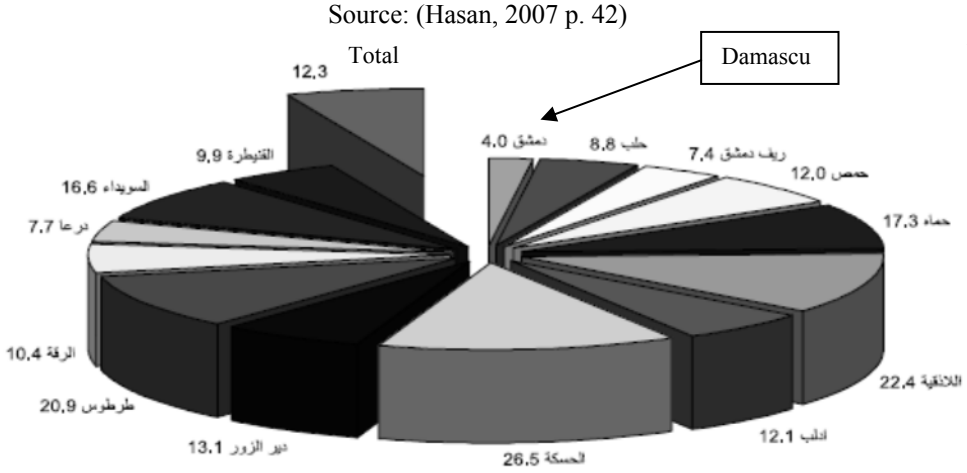


Figure A3-24: Distribution of unemployed people among Syria's governorates in percent in 2004

Source: (Hasan, 2007 p. 44)

Appendix 3-4: Examples of CSOs according to function

Table A3-8: Examples of CSOs according to their function

CSOs Function	Examples of NGOs in this category
Representation (organizations that aggregate citizen voice)	• Membership organizations, for example, labour unions, women's associations • NGO federations and networks • Churches and faith-based organizations • Organizations of indigenous people
Technical expertise (organizations that provide information and advice, and lobby on particular issues)	• Professional and business associations • Advocacy NGOs • Think-tanks and research groups • News media groups
Capacity-building (organizations that provide support to other CSOs, including funding)	• Foundations (local and international) • NGO support organizations • Training organizations
Service-delivery (organizations that implement development projects or provide services)	• Implementing NGOs (local and international) • Credit and mutual aid societies • Informal, grassroots, and community-based • associations
Social functions (organizations that foster collective recreational activities)	• Mosque or prayer groups • Sports clubs • Cultural circles • Choral societies

Source: (WB, 2000 p. 6)

Appendix 3-5: Institutional quality in the Arab countries in 2007

Table A3-9: Institutional quality in the Arab countries in 2007

	Voice and accountability	Political stability	Government effectiveness	Regulatory quality	Rule of law	Control of corruption	Average institutional quality
LOW INCOME	**-1.49**	**-2.03**	**-1.25**	**-1.22**	**-1.40**	**-1.10**	**-1.42**
Comoros	-0.45	-0.40	-1.80	-1.43	-0.93	-0.69	-0.95
Mauritania	-0.75	-0.33	-0.68	-0.36	-0.60	-0.50	-0.54
Somalia	-1.89	-3.01	-2.35	-2.72	-2.64	-1.87	-2.41
Sudan	-1.73	-2.30	-1.18	-1.25	-1.46	-1.25	-1.53
Yemen	-1.06	-1.48	-1.02	-0.71	-0.94	-0.62	-0.97
LOWER MIDDLE INCOME	**-1.15**	**-1.00**	**-0.54**	**-0.53**	**-0.46**	**-0.58**	**-0.71**
Algeria	-1.01	-1.18	-0.52	-0.66	-0.72	-0.47	-0.76
Djibouti	-1.06	-0.05	-0.98	-0.80	-0.51	-0.48	-0.65
Egypt	-1.24	-0.77	-0.44	-0.31	-0.13	-0.58	-0.58
Iraq	-1.29	-2.82	-1.68	-1.35	-1.89	-1.39	-1.74
Jordan	-0.64	-0.29	0.27	0.35	0.51	0.32	0.09
Morocco	-0.62	-0.52	-0.07	-0.11	-0.15	-0.24	-0.29
Syria	-1.77	-0.61	-0.88	-1.22	-0.55	-0.88	-0.99
Tunisia	-1.22	0.10	0.46	0.15	0.52	0.08	-0.02
OPT	-1.28	-2.07	-1.24	-1.38	-0.84	-0.77	-1.26
UPPER MIDDLE INCOME	**-1.28**	**-0.29**	**-0.63**	**-0.41**	**-0.36**	**-0.48**	**-0.58**
Lebanon	-0.45	-2.09	-0.61	-0.21	-0.66	-0.65	-0.78
Libya	-1.94	0.47	-1.07	-0.98	-0.62	-0.83	-0.83
Oman	-1.03	0.76	0.38	0.63	0.73	0.62	0.35
HIGH INCOME	**-1.36**	**-0.29**	**0.01**	**0.08**	**0.38**	**0.14**	**-0.17**
Bahrain	-0.82	-0.28	0.41	0.89	0.66	0.60	0.24
Kuwait	-0.46	0.40	0.20	0.29	0.69	0.49	0.27
Qatar	-0.64	0.81	0.06	0.55	0.89	1.00	0.45
Saudi Arabia	-1.59	-0.59	-0.18	-0.10	0.27	-0.10	-0.38
UAE	-0.89	0.76	0.86	0.70	0.66	1.00	0.52
OVERALL AVERAGE	**-1.25**	**-1.13**	**-0.65**	**-0.62**	**-0.58**	**-0.62**	**-0.81**

Source: (UNDP, 2009b p. Annex II, drawing from Kauffman, World Bank Governance Indicators, 2008).

Note: Estimates between -2.5 and 2.5; higher is better.

Appendix 3-6: UNDP projects in Syria

The following are the areas of development approached in partnership with the UNDP in Syria. Several programmes and projects are currently in progress to contribute to the objectives of each area. These areas and their development objectives according to (UNDP, 2011b) are as follows:

Social Development for Poverty Reduction:

Through the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals the world is addressing the many dimensions of human development, including halving by 2015 the proportion of people living in extreme poverty. Developing countries are working to create their own national poverty eradication strategies based on local needs and priorities. UNDP advocates for these nationally-owned solutions and helps to make them effective through ensuring a greater voice for poor people, expanding access to productive assets and economic opportunities, and linking poverty programmes with countries' international economic and financial policies.

Business For Development:

The current socio-economic reform in Syria aims at effectively transforming the Syrian economy from a centrally planned economy into a social market one. The success of such a process requires the participation of all stakeholders, especially private sector organizations that can play a leading role in socio-economic development. Through proper promotion of cross sectoral Private Partnerships, the private sector can support poverty reduction, the promotion of good governance, enhancing access to inclusive markets; and furthermore, participate in implementing strategic social investments with pro poor bottom of the pyramid business models.

Democratic Governance:

More countries than ever before are working to build democratic governance. Their challenge is to develop institutions and processes that are more responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens, including the poor. UNDP brings people together within nations and around the world, building partnerships and sharing ways to promote participation, accountability and effectiveness at all levels. We help countries strengthen their

electoral and legislative systems, improve access to justice and public administration, and develop a greater capacity to deliver basic services to those most in need.

Environment and Energy:

Energy and environment are essential for sustainable development. The poor are disproportionately affected by environmental degradation and lack of access to clean affordable energy services. These issues are also global as climate change, loss of biodiversity and ozone layer depletion cannot be addressed by countries acting alone. UNDP helps countries strengthen their capacity to address these challenges at global, national and community levels, seeking out and sharing best practices, providing innovative policy advice and linking partners through pilot projects that help poor people build sustainable livelihoods.

Crisis Prevention & Recovery:

The 21st Century has already been marked by escalating economic losses and human devastation caused by natural disasters. UNDP supports national counterparts to develop both a disaster risk perspective and the human, financial, technical and legislative capacity; civil society preparedness; and coordination systems required to effectively manage and reduce risk.

Appendix 3-7: Damascus main land-uses in hectares

Table A3-10:Damascus city key land-use data in hectares in 1994 and 2004

1994 (GCEC Study)		2004 (JICA Study)	
Land use	Area (ha)	Land use	Area (ha)
Agricultural	1,006	Cereals	17
		Fruit trees	187
		Olive trees	446
		Other field crops	322
		Subtotal	972
Residential	4,590	Continuous urban	4,099
Mixed residential & agriculture	414	Discontinuous urban	548
Subtotal	5,004	Informal urban fabric	1,199
Social & administrative	455	Subtotal	5,846
Non-built up area	117		
Greenery & parks	510	Sports & leisure facilities	81
		Green houses	304
		Universities	74
		Green urban area	13
		Subtotal	472
Industrial	222	Industrial	156
Special uses	355	Airport	249
Qassioun mountains	2,956	Bare land	1,663
		Scrubland	928
		Grassland	87
		Water related	89
		Subtotal	2,767
Total	10,625	Total	10,462

Source: (JICA, 2009b p. 4)

Driven from GCEC, *The Third Stage of the Contract on Damascus General Structure Plan Study and Preparation project*, March 1997 and

GIS database created by the JICA Study in 2004

Appendix 3-8: Damascus factual maps

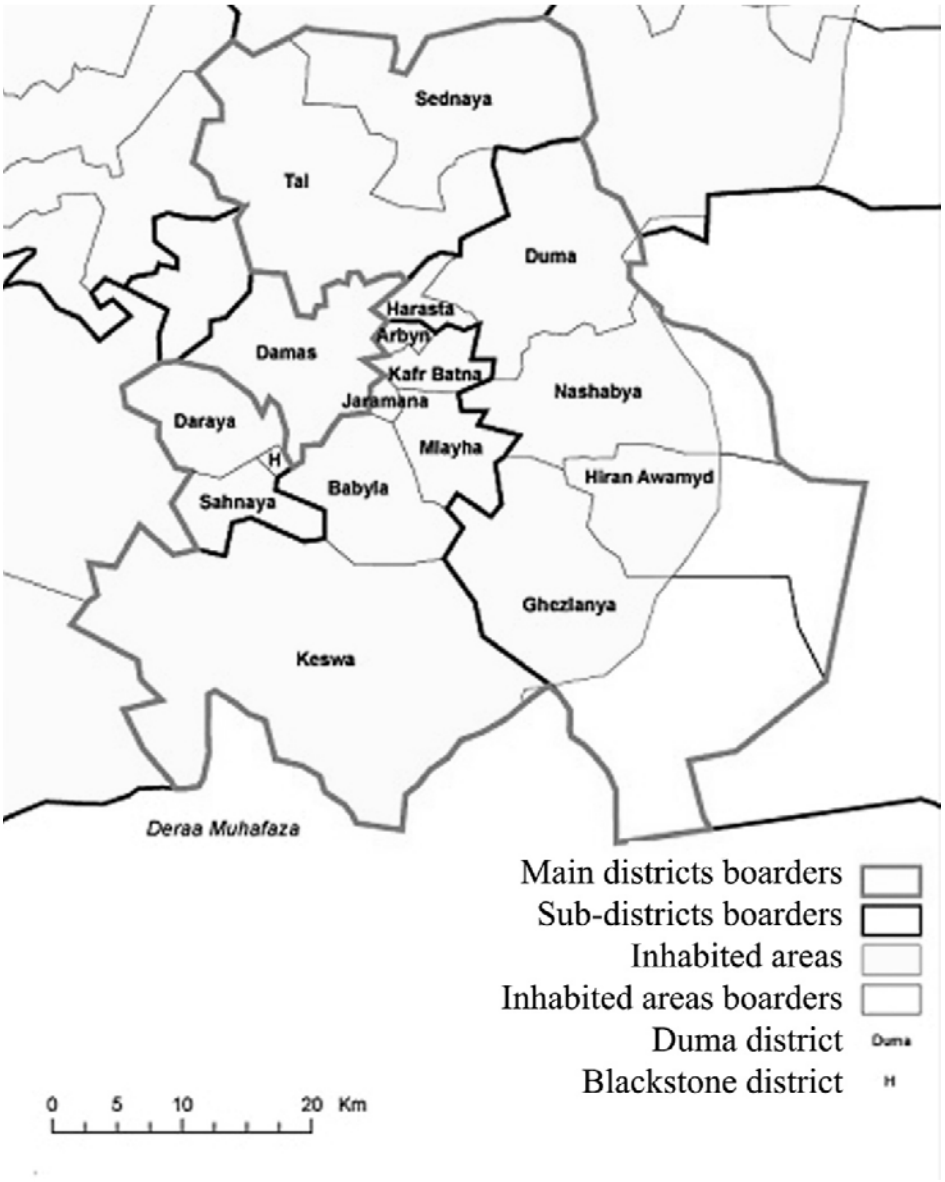


Figure A3-25: Damascus City and its adjacent rural districts

Source: (MoSEA, 2011)

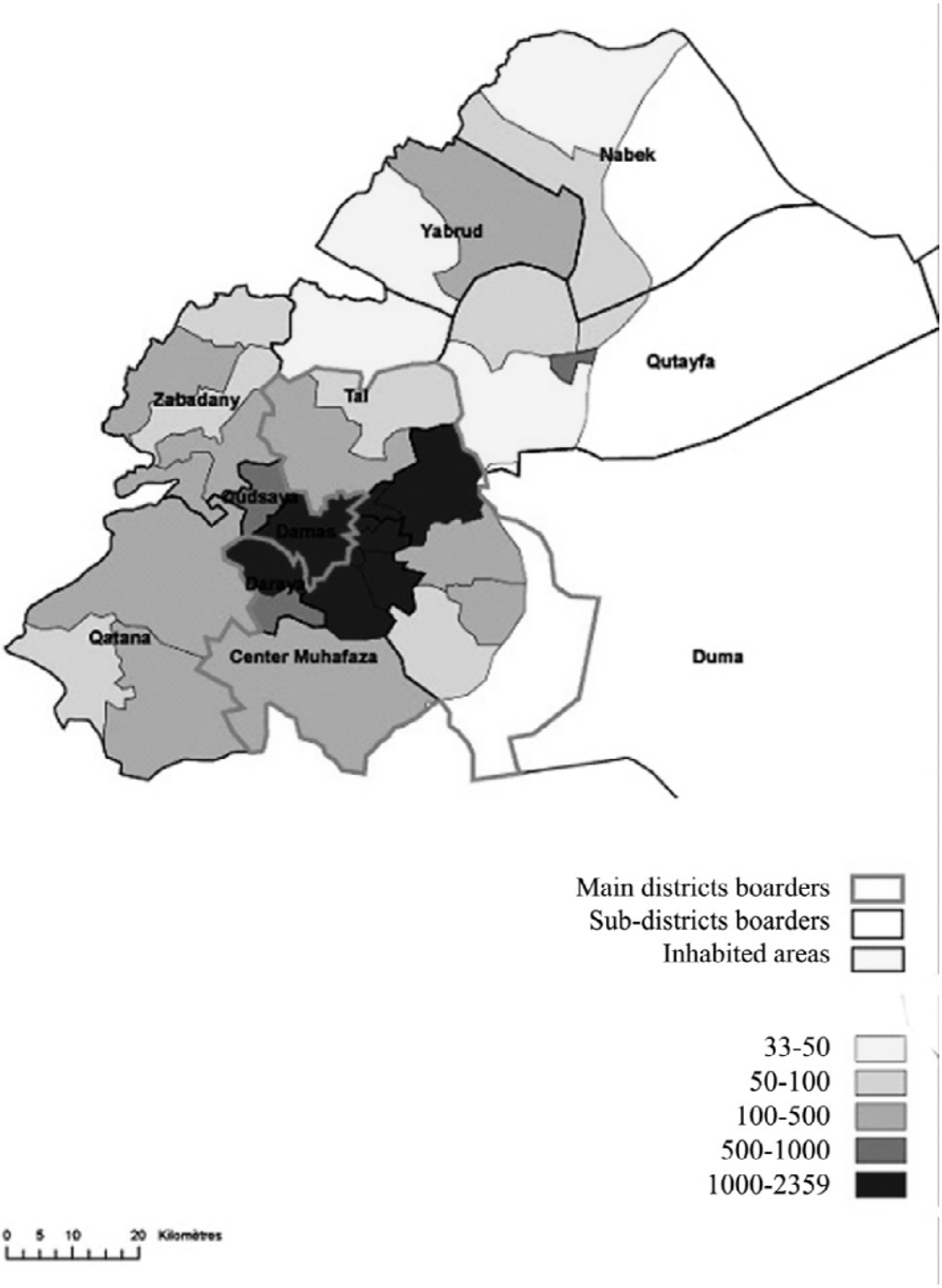


Figure A3-26: Population density per 10 ha in Damascus and its surrounding districts in the year 2004

Source: (MoSEA, 2011)

Appendix 3-9: PLCs currently listed on the Damascus Stock Exchange

Table A3-11:PLCs listed on Damascus Stock Exchange in the order of joining the market

Name	**Profession**
Banque Bemo Saudi Fransi	Bank
Arab Bank Syria	Bank
Bank of Syria and Overseas	Bank
United Group	Media group
Al Ahlia Transport	Transport company
Bank Audi Syria	Bank
International Bank for Trade and Finance	Bank
Agricultural Engineering Investment Company (Namaa)	Investment company
Syrian Arab Company for Tourist Establishments	Tourism industry (real-estate and services)
Al Ahlia Vegetable Oil Company	Production company
Bemo Saudi Fransi Finance	Financial services
Pioneers Syria	Financial services
Al Aula Financial Services	Financial services
IFA Financial Services	Financial services

Source: (SEBC, 2009), allocated by the author

Appendix 3-10: Employment in the public and private sectors in Damascus and its adjacent rural area according to population statistics from the year 2004

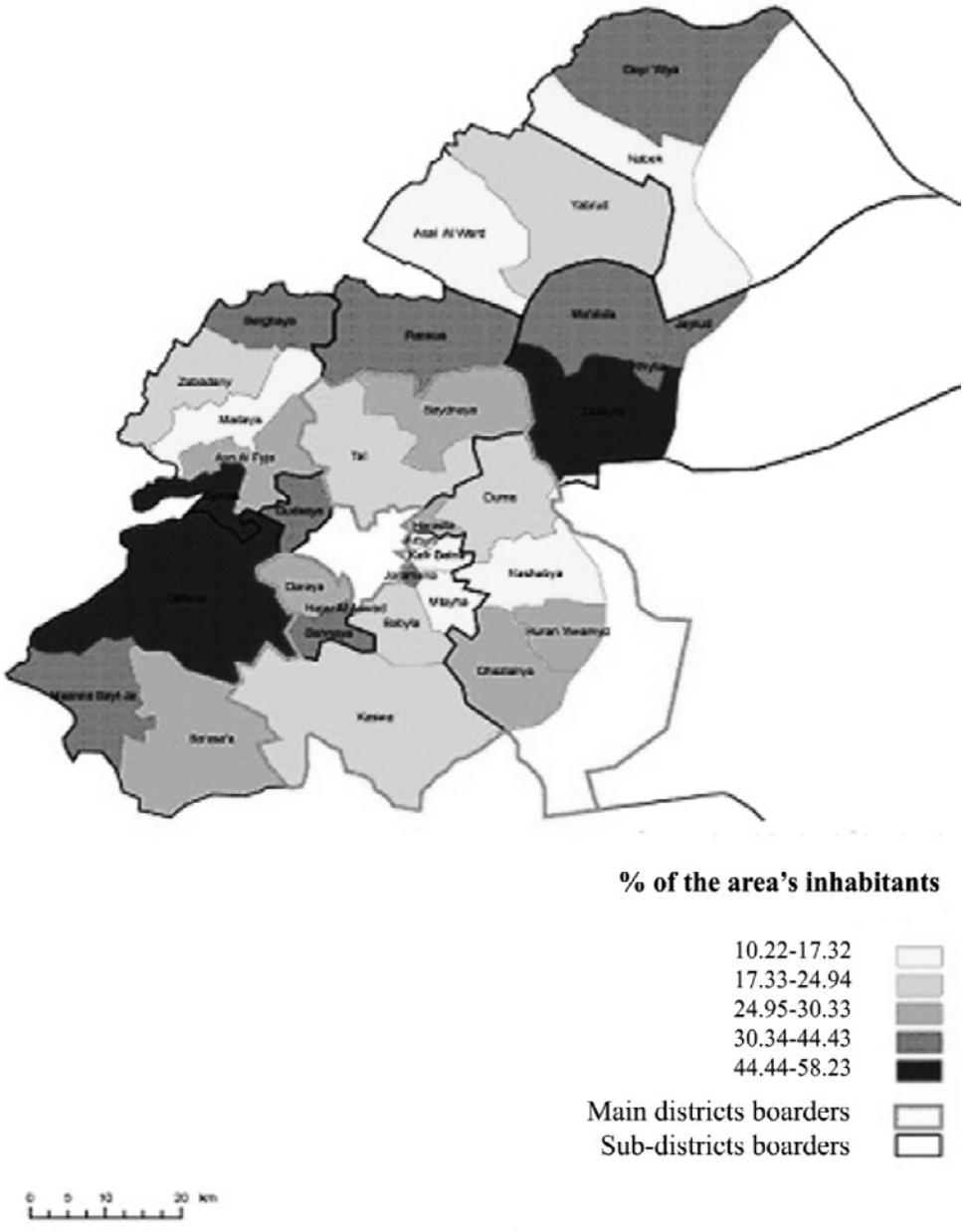


Figure A3-27: Employment in public sector according to population statistics of the year 2004
Source: (MoSEA, 2011)

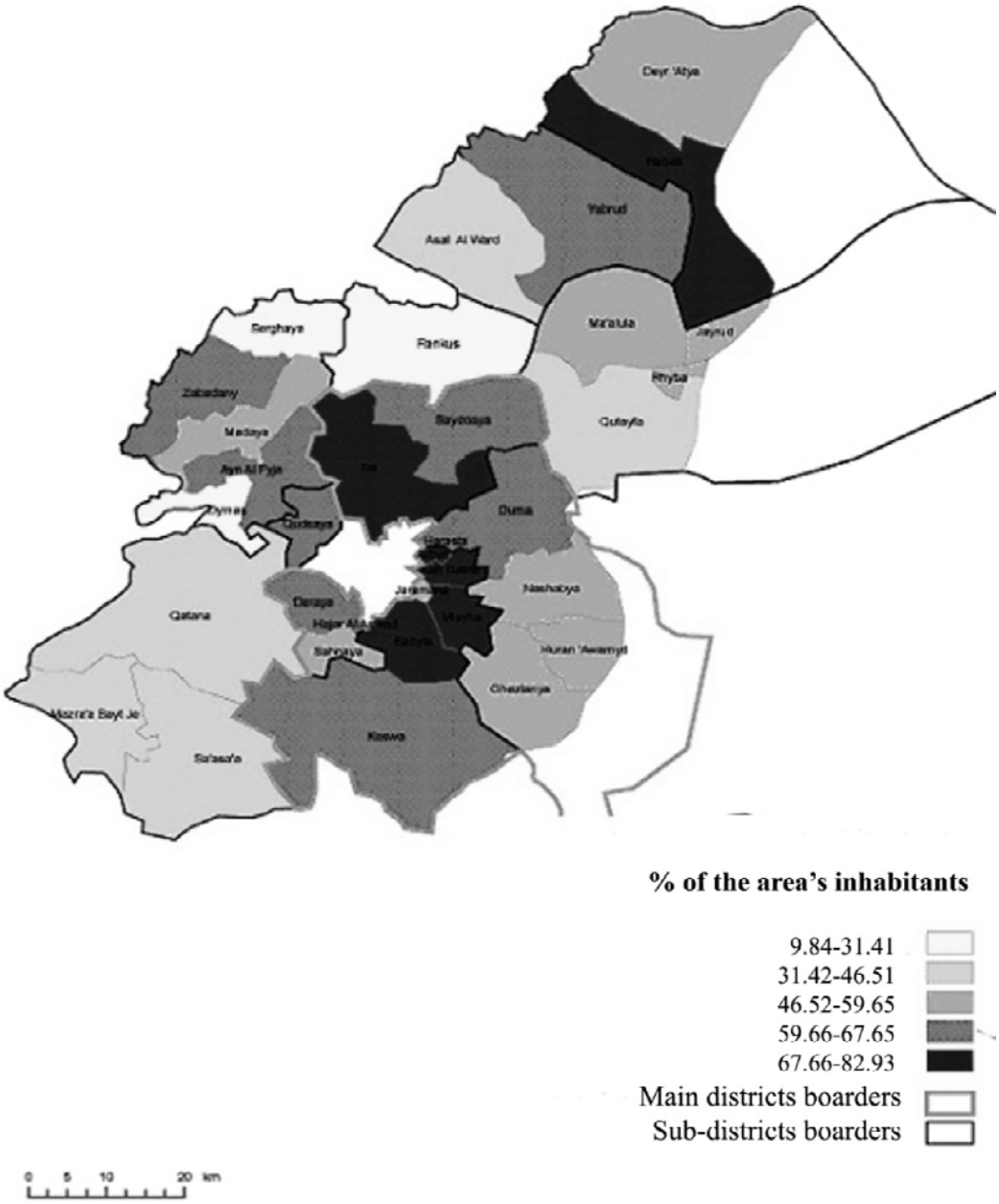
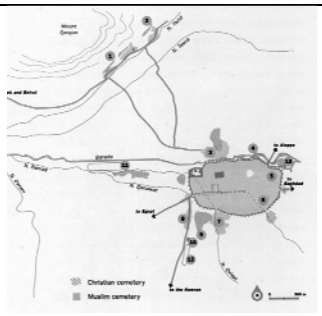
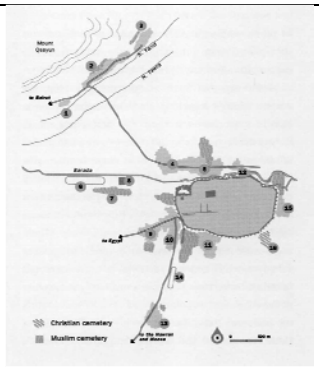
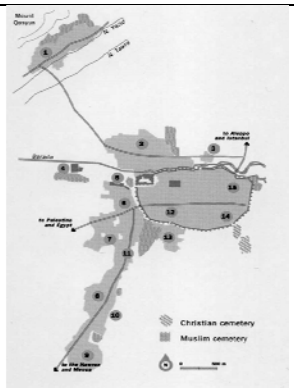
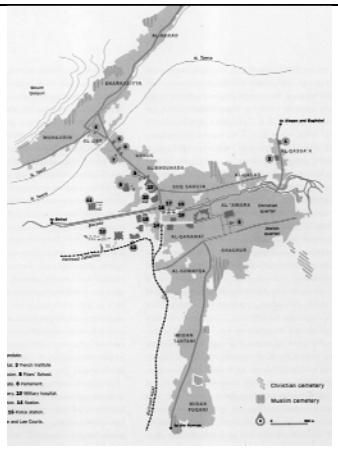


Figure A3-28: Employment in private sector (except agriculture) according to population statistics of the year 2004

Source: (MoSEA, 2011)

Appendix 3-11: Damascus urban growth between the 13th and 20th centuries

Table A3-12: Damascus urban growth between the 13th and 20th centuries

Time	Map	Description
13th century		The city oval was defined with the old wall and have linkages with new settlements of Circassians and Kurds to the north along the feet of Qassyoun Mount.
14th century		Small expansions around the city wall towards the north and south.
19th century		A clear expansion of the city patch towards the north and south along al Hajj road
20th century		The city patch went beyond the city wall with a clearly defined urban settlements along the northern ward towards Qassyoun and the south ward along the Hajj road.

Source: Allocated by the author using material available in (DeGeorge, 2004)

Appendix 3-12: A review of the key urban planning laws and regulations in Syria

Table A3-13: Land categories and ownership according to the planning law in Syria

Land ownership	• Public ownership includes natural resources, public utilities, and nationalized installations and establishments, as well as installations and establishments set up by the state. The state undertakes to exploit and to supervise the administration of this property in the interest of the entire people. It is the duty of the citizens to protect this property. • Collective ownership includes the property belonging to popular and professional organizations and to production units, cooperatives, and other social establishments. The law guarantees its protection and support. • Individual ownership includes property belonging to individuals. The law defines its social task in serving the national economy within the framework of the development plan. This property should not be used in ways contrary to the people's interests.
Land acquisition	Individual ownership may not be expropriated except for public interest and in return for just compensation in accordance with the law. Acquisition laws are not applied on land owned by different authorities.
Land categories under Article 86 of the Civil Code of 1949	• Mulk; This is defined by article 86 as real properties that are capable of being absolutely owned and are situate inside the building zones that are administratively defined. It has been held by the courts that only one condition is required for a real property to be considered mulk, namely that it be situated inside the building zones by defined by administrative regulations. • Miri; Conversely all real properties outside such zones are by virtue of this provision, miri. It is state-owned land whose possession or usufruct (taşarruf) is in the hands of individuals upon determined terms] • Matrūkah murfaqah: This is land owned by the state but subject to use by specific groups of people. They are part of the private-domain of the state. • Matrūkah mahmi̇yah: This is land belongs to the state or municipalities that are part of the public domain like roads. This cannot be subject to the use of a specific person or group and their ownership cannot be acquired by prescription…[It] is part of the public-domain. • Empty and free lands (mawăt): This is also part of the private-domain of the state. It should be noted that any wrongful act committed against private-domain is treated as an act committed against private property not public property.

Source: Drawn from McAuslan (2008a pp. 2-3) and allocated by the author

A summarised overview of the key urban planning laws and regulations in Syria:

This is taken from McAuslan (2008a pp. 3-13) as a part of a UN report which reviewed planning law in Syria in 2008; and Syria Forward Magazine (2010 pp. 12-35) which discusses real estate legislation and reforms. These are addressed here as in the original sources, and no major rephrasing was made by the author.

Decree 5/1982:

Overview

This is the basic and essential regulation for urban planning in Syria. It regulates the process of preparing general master plans and detailed site plans. Furthermore, it regulates planning and land development activities between the planning authorities, the public, and the private sector. In accordance with this decree, the MoLA sets the national planning code which reports all the fundamental current and future needs of cities and towns over the period of 20 years. The code must also contain the population, its distribution and the suggested density for such distribution among the different facilities. Also the ratio between the facilities and each person in the proposed population of the complex must be noted. The code must also contain the number of all facilities and the network of all major roads, the width of such roads, and road classifications. The code also includes the direction in which the population should grow, with a scientific explanation for choosing such direction.

Issues to consider

The process of preparing development plans is a master planning process were future plans are based on the belief that not merely is it possible to undertake such a planning exercise but that it was both necessary and desirable to do so as only in this way could urban development proceed in an orderly and progressive manner. This process for planning only concerns about the physical product of the targeted area, but does not consider the social, economic, and environmental aspects of the development. furthermore, this process does not concern about the views of the people being planned for as to how they see the future of their city. In other words, this process of planning is scientific and objective where, by definition, there is no room for unscientific and subjective views about the future.

Law 9/1974:

Overview

Section One of the law deals with private sector sub-division and land development. Landowners may apply to their local authority to sub-divide their land with a view to its development. A sub-division must comply with the master plan and allocate up to 50% of the land for public purposes – roads, gardens and public buildings. Public utilities must produce an estimate of the costs of putting in infrastructure and these costs will be allocated to each sub-divided plot and be a debt owed by the ultimate owner of the plot to the local authority. A local authority must decide a sub-division application within three months of its being submitted.

Section Two of the law provides for the establishment of what are called organisational areas by municipalities and a process of land pooling and readjustment carried out by municipalities. As drafted in 1974 such powers were only to be exercised in areas affected by natural disasters or in areas where the municipality wished to implement a master plan. In this latter case, the land is either undeveloped, presumably rural, land with some minimal development or an area of land which is considered to be badly developed and in need of redevelopment. Examples of the use of such powers in Damascus show that it can work and produce urban development providing public open space and public buildings.

Issues to consider

In accordance with this law, a targeted area is established on the basis of a scheme which sets out the line of future roads, areas to be built on and the location of public facilities. The municipality takes possession of the land which must be set aside under a Section One private development scheme. All those claiming to have rights in the land in the organisation area must make a claim for these rights to be recognised. Recognised rights have their values estimated (with opportunities to challenge the estimate and have it reconsidered). After the estimation process is complete, a redistribution of land is then carried out by a committee chaired by a judge and having two representatives of both the municipality and of the residents of the area. Residents are reallocated plots of land as near as possible to their old plots and either receive compensation if the value of the new plot is less than the estimated value of the old plot or are required to pay compensation (to the municipality presumably) if the reverse is the case. Here too there

is an opportunity for residents to "make their remarks" on the scheme of distribution. Although the law and the Implementation Instructions are silent on the matter, the assumption seems to be that the residents would then be expected to construct new houses on their new plots in accordance with the requirements of the master plan.

Law 60/1979 amended by Law 26/2000:

Overview

This law applies to urban expansion areas, areas which are not organised, divided or located in the ratified overall master plan. (article 1) By way of further elaboration, urban expansion areas are by Law 26/2000 defined to mean housing expansion areas which include the land needed for public buildings as defined in Law 9/1974 and which are to be added to the overall master plan. So if an area which is to become an urban expansion area is not covered by an existing master plan of a municipality, the declaration that it is an urban expansion area brings it within the scope of that plan.

Law 60/1979 expressly ruled out Law 9/1974 as applying to the urban expansion areas of Damascus and the other major cities in Syria. Law 26/2000 however provides that a municipality may apply Section Two of Law 9/1974 (public sector driven land pooling and readjustment) to expansion areas within six months of the master plan being ratified. If however, the municipality does not determine to apply section Two within that time frame, the owners of land within the expansion areas have the right to sub-divide their lands in accordance with section One of Law 9/1974 within three years from the end of the six month period. So the possibility both of private development and public/private partnerships for development have been reinstated.

Issues to consider

Where Law 9/1974 is not applied, the municipalities are to take possession of all the land in the expansion areas (less certain real estates exempted by article 2 of Instructions No.1 of Law 60 and estates owned by different religious sects) via the Expropriation Law on the basis that the project is a public benefit and per Law 26/2000 is to be considered as an 'urgent case'. An 'urgent case' under article 28 of Decree 20/1983 permits the expropriating body to take possession of the "non-built real estate", i.e. rural or agricultural land as soon as the expropriating decree is issued and before compensation is paid. The real estates (built up plots) within the expansion areas which

are to be acquired are deemed to be agricultural areas and compensation is payable only on that basis. Once the municipalities have acquired the lands, they plan and divide up the land in plots and then sell them 'by costs value' to people willing to construct buildings on them and also to individuals whose properties were taken. The cost value is the total costs of acquisition and clearing the land, the estimated costs of the provision of public utilities and administrative expenses.

People (other than those whose real estate were expropriated) who buy plots may not thereafter sell 'or do anything' with their property until they have built all the floor area admissible according to the housing regulations for the area or use the land for the purpose for which it was allocated. Furthermore, Law 26/2000 grants the municipalities the right to collect advance payments from the plot buyers to meet the costs referred to above. The restriction on dealings with the land is clearly designed to prevent speculation but if the phrase 'not do anything' includes not mortgaging the plots (and a mortgage on which default is made can result in the sale of the mortgaged property) it is difficult to see how many individuals would be able both to make advance payments and develop their plot to the requisite standard. If the plot buyers are property developers however, they would presumably have the resources to finance advance payments and construction in a staged way with each successive stage of development being sold off to pay for the development of the next stage. The restriction does not however apply to those whose real estate was expropriated. They may receive back 40% of their expropriated plot as compensation – with the addition of infrastructure the plots are now more valuable – with 60% going to the municipality which may sell the newly created plots at cost price to help defray the costs of putting in infrastructure, roads, public buildings etc.

A final article in Law 26/2000 is highly significant with respect to unauthorised settlements and any plan which might be made to regularise and upgrade them. Article 7 provides that governorate centres may apply the first and second sections of Law 9/1974 to 'mass contravention buildings' which may be found in urban expansion areas or in the ratified master plan and also take possession of land needed for public works and buildings under Law 20/1983 or apply the law to them if they are considered expansion areas. The article seems to give governorate centres a discretion whether to apply Law 9/1974, Decree 20/1983 or Law 26/2000 but it seems highly unlikely that one of these

laws would not be applied. Clearly, where there is already a developed urban area in existence, it would be preferable to work through Law 9/1974 as in Damascus rather than expropriating all the land and real estate but even working through Law 26/2000 would not rule out the application of Law 9/1974.

Decree 20/1983:

Overview

The current law on expropriation is at present being reviewed and revised. The commentary which follows will discuss both Law 20/1983 and its proposed revision (the proposed text). The proposed text starts off by more or less repeating the first sentence of article 15 of the Constitution (quoted above) but the existing law does not mention that article. By article 3, it launches straight into spelling out in some detail what projects of public benefit are. They are what may be called the 'usual list': roads, public buildings and constructions for public works or utilities, agricultural works and constructions, irrigation works and dams, works for defence and security purposes. In addition to these however are tourism constructions, constructions and projects implementing properly defined development and investment plans and all projects implemented within the public bodies' and public sector's specialisation and their tasks. The proposed text adds a further paragraph; the expropriation of real estates in historical sites.

Article 4 is also relevant: it permits administrative bodies and bodies specialising in housing to expropriate real estates so as to sub-divide them and sell the plots on to parties ready to build on them, i.e. land developers. The plots are to be sold at cost price but there is no legal restriction on the price at which developers can sell what they have built. Where under article 34E of Decree 20/1983, popular housing is to be built on expropriated land, the regulative decision of the minister of housing and utilities prescribing the modalities of developing and selling such housing may affect the price at which it is sold but it is significant that even in that paragraph there is specific limitation on price.

Issues to consider

The effect of these provisions is that one person's private property may be expropriated and sold at cost price to another private person who is at liberty to make a profit from

developing the land. Until quite recently this would have been regarded as an abuse of the power of expropriation since 'public purpose' would not have been thought to include private profit but with the advent of public/private partnerships in infrastructure and urban development, and the acceptance that 'development' including economic development generally is a public purpose, this has changed.

Using the land for a more productive purpose was considered a valid public purpose in planning laws in different countries, even though that productive purpose involved private sector entities who would make profits from their use of the land. The compensation that the expropriated owners of homes received according to these laws was market value. This is a fundamental difference from the Syrian situation. Since the issue of market value compensation is at the heart of criticisms of the current system of acquisition in Syria.

Law 1/2003:

Overview

Informal settlements in Syria have developed on two types of land: miri; and matrūkah murfaqah. In the case of miri, the existing right holders, who are using the land for agricultural purposes sell off plots to individual families who then proceed to construct their own houses or use contractors to do the job for them. The new occupiers do not have formal legal titles but they have evidence in the form of a document of sale that they bought the land from someone who had the legal power to sell it although not for the purpose for which it was to be used. In the second case, the occupiers are what might be called 'true' or 'genuine' squatters; they just moved on to the land and began living there and have no evidentiary record to show that they have some kind of 'title'.

Issues to consider

The approach to informal and illegal private land development is at the moment twofold. Existing large scale informal settlements are being regularised and legalised. This has recently been given legal backing by Law 46/2004 which facilitates the granting of title as part of programmes of land readjustment under Law 9/1974. This national policy recognises that although informal and strictly 'illegal', enormous amounts of private capital investment have gone into these settlements and it would be neither just nor economically efficient to destroy them. Furthermore, the law requires

that public utility bodies supply water and electricity to these developments for which people are expected to and do in fact pay. The buildings in these developments are for the most part solidly built – often three storeys or more – many of the roads have been paved by the local administration and basic systems of sewerage exist. These developments disprove the 'received wisdom' about informal settlements; that investment depends upon a secure title. Clearly, the reverse applies in Syria: investment leads to a secure title as Law 46 demonstrates.

The alternative policy is enshrined in Law 1 of 2003 on Illegal Building which provides a draconian set of penalties for illegal building and which is aimed principally at illegal building in existing planned areas of legal formal buildings and extension areas. Once an extension area is announced or it becomes known that some land on the outskirts of a town or city is likely to be declared an extension area, people move in and buy from the existing miri landowners: as has been explained above, existing landowners get a much better price from an 'illegal' sale than they will compensation from an expropriation. As will be shown below too, the process of a local administration actually getting hold of the land to begin developing it is so time-consuming, that it is almost inevitable that informal development will begin to 'fill the gap' between the declaration of an extension area and public development in that area. This law is not being extensively enforced at the moment largely because of the resources, human and financial, needed to do so.

Law 33/2008:

Overview

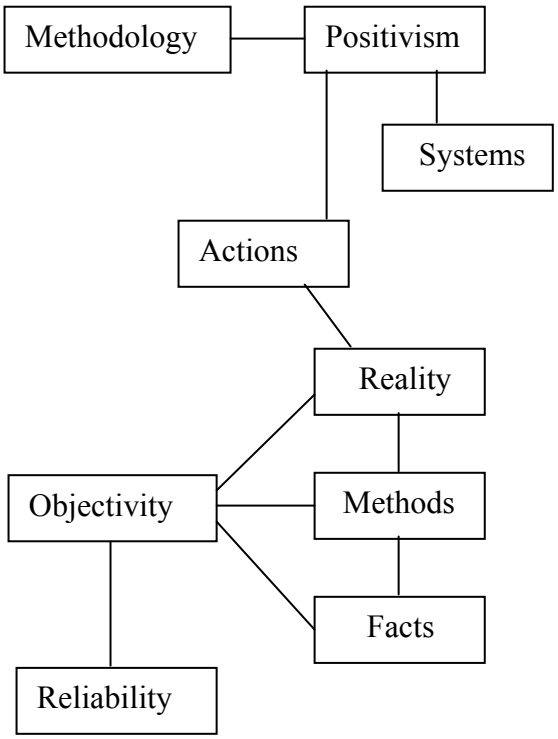
This law is related to confirming the ownership of properties which are built or un-built in residential communities. Such process takes place in a specified real estate area, or in a part of it, through sorting out, removal of common ownership, correction of features, and modification of the real estate record in accordance with the current situation of properties. Thus, a proper solution to the problem of ownership in informal housing areas could be witnessed through this law. Aleppo, Damascus, and Homs have been suggested as three sample areas in which this law could be applied as an experiment.

Issues to consider

Although this law has a potential to introduce some form of solution to deal with ownership in informal areas, this law is still not applied in practice. This makes Law 60/1979 and its amendment Law 26/2000 to be the ones applied to informal housing areas in practise. However, these are not applied to state owned properties. According to the interviewees from the GoD, the application of law 33/2008 is almost impossible due to the difficulty in conducting a true survey of informal areas populations and, thus, allocating area ownership to each family/person. This law was issued without consideration of the fast growing, socially unstable nature of the communities in the informal areas.

Appendix 4-1: Summary of the differences between positivism and relativism in research

The positivism approach in research



The relativist approach in research

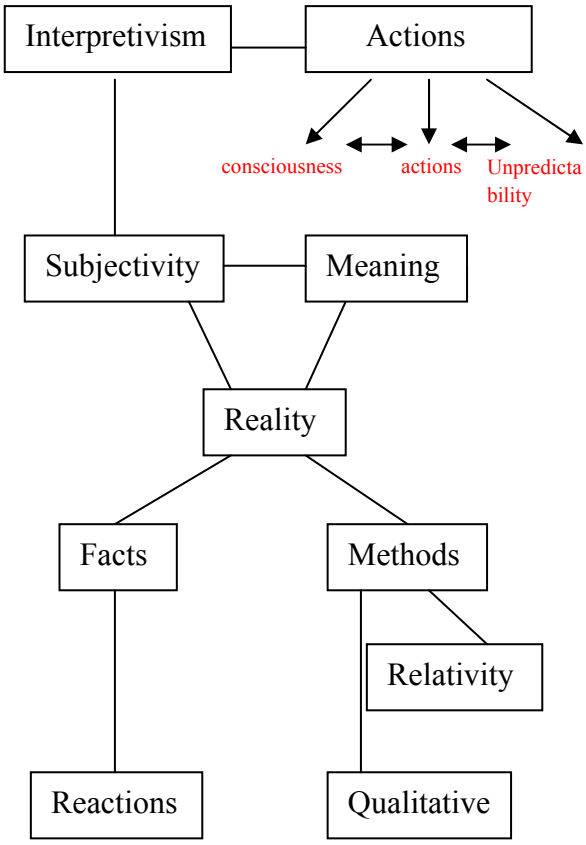


Figure A4-3: Positivist and interpretive research approaches

Source: Livesey (2006, pp. 1-3)

Appendix 4-2: Summary of the differences between quantitative and qualitative research approaches

Table A4-1: Comparison between quantitative and qualitative research approaches

	Quantitative	Qualitative
General framework	Seek to confirm hypotheses about phenomena	Seek to explore phenomena
	Instruments use more rigid style of eliciting and categorizing responses to questions	Instruments use more flexible, iterative style of eliciting and categorizing responses to questions
	Use highly structured methods such as questionnaires, surveys, and structured observation	Use semi-structured methods such as in-depth interviews, focus groups, and participant observation
Analytical objectives	To quantify variation	To describe variation
	To predict causal relationships	To describe and explain relationships
	To describe characteristics of a population	To describe individual experiences
		To describe group norms
Question format	Closed-ended	Open-ended
Data format	Numerical (obtained by assigning numerical values to responses)	Textual (obtained from audiotapes, videotapes, and field notes)
Flexibility in study design	Study design is stable from beginning to end	Some aspects of the study are flexible (for example, the addition, exclusion, or wording of particular interview questions)
	Participant responses do not influence or determine how and which questions researchers ask next	Participant responses affect how and which questions researchers ask next
	Study design is subject to statistical assumptions and conditions	Study design is iterative, that is, data collection and research questions are adjusted according to what is learned

Source: Family Health International (fhi, 2010 p3)

Appendix 4-3: Summary of data collection methods and their contributions

Table A4-2: Summary of data collection methods and their contributions

Data collection method	Type of data	Purpose and source of data			Contribution of method to Research questions
		General		Specific	
		Theory	**Syria/Damascus**	**Case studies**	
Literature review	Secondary data	Planning governance and participation theories and policies (*UK libraries and international agencies*)	Planning governance context in Syria and Damascus (*UK libraries, international agencies and Syrian sources*)	Materials on the case studies (*Syrian sources*)	**1st objective** (1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4) **2nd objective** (2.1, 2.2, 2.3)
Interviewing	Primary data		Actors in the state, market and civil society sectors in Damascus	Actors in the state, market and civil society sectors in Damascus	**1st objective** (1.4) **2nd objective** (2.3) **3rd objective** (3.1, 3.2, 3.3)
Focus group	Primary data		Urban development experts (27 people) in Damascus		**1st objective** (1.4) **2nd objective** (2.3) **3rd objective** (3.1, 3.2, 3.3)
Programme observation	Primary data		Attendance of the urban development of Damascus region workshop	Attendance of local community participation workshop in Damascus	**1st objective** (1.4) **2nd objective** (2.3) **3rd objective** (3.1, 3.2, 3.3)
Triangulation of data	Primary data		The urban development institutional context in Damascus	Participation process in the case studies and the position of civil society in it	**1st objective** (1.4) **2nd objective** (2.1, 2.3) **3rd objective** (3.1, 3.2, 3.3)

Source: The author

Appendix 4-4: Summary of the sources of literature materials on the Syrian urban development context

Table A4-3: The sources of the literature on the Syrian urban development context

Source of materials		Type of materials
Academic	Al Assad National Library	Academic books
	Architecture and planning academic research 360 website	Academic papers
	Damascus University/ Faculty of Architecture/ Planning Department library	Academic research
Syrian Governmental	Ministry of Housing and Construction	Urban development and land use laws and legislations
	Ministry of Local Administration	Development laws and news
	Ministry of State for Environmental Affairs	Environmental studies, maps and news
	The Governorate of Damascus	Archives, news and workshop papers
	The Prime Ministry	Development laws
	The State of Planning Commission	National development plans
Syrian NGOs	Friends of Damascus Society	Publications
	The First International Development Conference of Syria 2010	Conference papers
	The Syrian Engineers Society	Publications
	The Syrian Trust for Development publications	Publications
Foreign development partners	Municipal Administration Modernisation Project (MAM)	Project and research reports
	The German Development Service (DED)	News
	The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)	Project reports
	The Program for Sustainable Urban Development (Capacity Development for Sustainable Urban Management and Governance) - UDP & GIZ	Project and research reports
	The Program for Sustainable Urban Development (UDP)	Information handouts
	The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	Publications
International agencies	BBC	Country profile/Syria
	Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)	Country profile/Syria
	Library of Congress	Country profile/Syria
	The United Nations (UN)	Country profile/Syria
	The World Bank (WB)	Country profile/Syria

Source: The author

Appendix 4-5: Participants in providing the research primary data (interviewees, focus group members and participants in observed junctures)

Table A4-4: Informal interviews

Name	Position	Institutional category	Interview date or period
Not to be named(24)	Director and Project coordinator	Private sector	Feb 2009 – Mar 2009
Not to be named	Member of Friends of Damascus Society	NGO	Feb 2009 – Mar 2009
Not to be named	Project assistant coordinator	Damascus governorate	Feb 2009 – Mar 2009
Sulaiman Al-Muhanna	Lecturer in the planning department in Faculty of Architecture/Damascus University	Academia	Feb 2009 – Mar 2009
Yasar Abedeen	Head of planning department in Faculty of Architecture/Damascus University	Academia + Damascus governorate	Feb 2009 – Mar 2009

Source: The author

Table A4-5: Semi-structured interviews

Society sphere	Name	Position	Institutional category	Interview date
State	Abd Al-Fattah Ayaso	Director of the planning and urban development directorate in the GoD	Local government GoD	12/04/10
	Abd Al-Kader Hashimi	Chairman of the board of directors & general manager	Khatib & Alami	14/04/10
	Ferial Sabaan	Project assistant coordinator, a member of the Qanawat south area project study party	JICA	14/04/10
	Hassan Al Haaj	Vice director of the planning and urban development directorate in the GoD	Local government GoD	11/04/10
	Hiam Al-Ali	Head of coordination group in GoD and head of the Arabic team in JICA	Local government GoD + JICA	12/04/10
	Natalia Atfeh	Director of the general commission for engineering studies and consultation	Local government + MAM	13/04/10
	Nigel Stuart-Baker Mrtpi	Senior urban planner	Khatib & Alami	14/04/10
	Not to be named	Architect and urban planner in Urban development consultancy private office (Tercon)	Local government partner	11/04/10
	Reem Al-Khatib	Engineer in the planning department in MoLA, a member of Kasyoon project study party	National government MoLA	26/04/10
	Tsuyoshi Hashimoto	Team Leader / Urban and Regional Development Planning, the Qanawat south area project	JICA	24/04/10
	Wafaa Dagestanee	Director of planning execution in	National government	12/04/10

		the ministry of local administration	MoLA	
	Yasar Abedeen	Head of planning department in Faculty of Architecture/Damascus University	Academia + Damascus governorate	15/04/10
Private sector	Bashar Kabani	Real estate investor and developer	Private sector	14/04/10
	Not to be named	Real estate investor and developer	Private sector, Orfali Group	22/04/10
	Not to be named	Real estate investor	Private sector	06/04/10
	Not to be named	Architect	Private sector	28/03/10
Civil society	Khaled Bitar	National project director	UNDP	17/04/10
	Not to be named	Member of Friends of Damascus	NGO	19/04/10
	Not to be named	Member of Friends of Damascus	NGO	19/04/10
	Not to be named	Project coordinator in Prospect reservation charity	NGO	23/04/10

Source: The author

Table A4-6:Focus groups

Focus group name	**participants**	**Institutional category**	**Date of discussion**
Marne-la-Vallée PG Class	23	National and local government, private sector and professional community	11/04/10
Syrian-German Development Cooperation (SGDC) group	4	Study group professionals (Syrian and German) from GIZ, DED and CIM	25/04/10

Source: The author

Table A4-7: Direct observation junctures

Observed event	**Participants**	**Date**	**Purpose of event**	**Purpose of observation**
GoD workshop on the strategic development plan of Damascus region and its immediate surrounding	The different study parties, national and local planning authorities representatives, academics, private sector members and civil society organisations representatives (very limited)	3 day workshop 06, 07 & 08 of Apr 2010	Present proposed studies of the development plans for evaluation	Further understanding of urban development decision making process and its stakeholdes.
The second community participation workshop for the Qanawat south area development project	GoD and JICA members, community representatives and members.	28/03/2010	Inform the local community of the first workshop outcomes and discuss the local needs and concerns	Evaluate the local community participation process.

Source: The author

Appendix 4-6: Semi-structured interview questions

1- How do you identify the "civil society" targeted by the new participation policies encouraged in the 10th FYP as a resource to promote sustainable development?

Key findings are targeted to be in relation to

- civil society definition;
- what civil society structure is;
- how civil society is formed/ permitted; and
- how and what level civil society is represented in the planning authorities.

2- Should civil society be engaged in urban development decision making?

Key findings are targeted to be in relation to

If the answer is YES	If the answer is NO
- how civil society should be engaged; - who should be responsible for the process; and - the availability of a proper monitoring mechanism, how and how this is performed.	- reasons for that; and - The availability of alternatives to insure effective service delivery/what these are and how they are functioned.

3- In terms of capacity, does the planning authorities who are responsible to carry out participation and civil society targeted by the process have the needed capacity to cope with this form of development decision-making?

Key findings are targeted to be in relation to

- what the Planning authorities capacity is (funds, training, education, organisational structure);
- what civil society capacity is (structure, power, information, relations/representatives); and
- what the possible opportunities/challenges/ barriers are (training, funding programmes, organisational structure reform...).

4- Do civil society's needs affect the state's function of market regulation?

Key findings are targeted to be in relation to

If the answer is YES	If the answer is NO
- How this takes place.	- Why not; and - how it is intended to achieve a socio-market economy without this effect.

5- How do you describe the consultation process that took place in relation to Damascus metro project?

Key findings are targeted to be in relation to

- why the process took place – whose initiative;
- how inclusive it was;
- what the main challenges were; and
- the community's available capacity to cope with the process (capacity, information, trust).

6- What is the state's policy towards informal community driven developments?

Key findings are targeted to be in relation to

If support/formalise	If eliminate
- how this is to be performed; and - what the possible challenges are.	- how this is to be controlled; and - what the alternative for service delivery is.

Appendix 4-7: Questionnaire distributed among community members targeted by the participation process of Al-Qanawat South Development

It is provided in appendix 2 in the JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) (2010: pp: A2-1 - A2-17) *The Project for Urban Planning and Development in Damascus Metropolitan Area in the Syrian Arab Republic* first progress report. A copy of this is available on the link http://dma-upd.org/PublicFiles/File/Reports/Appendix/QuestionnaireQanawat.pdf?lang=en

The following is a copy of the pages of the questionnaire. It not clear here but can be reviewed following the link provided above. The author though to provide a copy despite lack of clarity in order to give an idea of the length of the questionnaire and the areas it investigated.

A2.1 Questionnaire Sheet for Households

This questionnaire is designed to recognize the opinions of the people in the Qanawat south area as a part of the participatory approach. The result of this questionnaire survey will be used to analyze the current problems and future expectations for the Qanawat south area. We will appreciate your useful opinions to create the better environment of the Qanawat south area.

0 Identification

		( )	Cadastral ID
		( )	Building ID
		( )	Name of Interviewer
( ) Date	( ) Month	( ) Year	Date of First Visit
( ) Date	( ) Month	( ) Year	Date of Final Visit
		Completed □1 Unavailable at home □2 Postponed □3 Refused □4 Vacant or not found □5	Result codes

1 Family Information

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Description	Item
( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )		Q1.1 Please write the age of each your family member.
( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	1 Male 2 Female	Q1.2 Please select the gender of your each family member.
( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	1 Head	Q1.3 Please select the head of your family member.
( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	1 Never educated 2 Elementary 3 Secondary 4 High school 5 University 6 Higher education	Q1.4 Please select the highest certified education level for each family member.
( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	1 Student 2 Government 3 Private sector 4 House wife 5 Unemployed	Q1.5 Please select the type occupation of your family member.
( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	1 Qanawat south 2 Qanawat 3 Old city 4 Central district 5 Others	Q1.6 Please select the school/work place of your family member
( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	1 Walk 2 Private car 3 Public bus 4 Bicycle 5 Taxi	Q1.7 Please select the means of transport to the school/work place of your family member

2 Financial Condition:

☐7 >SP500,000	☐6 <SP500,000	☐5 <SP250,000	☐4 <SP100,000	☐3 <SP50,000	☐2 <SP25,000	☐1 <SP5,000	Q2.1 Please select the monthly income level of your household
☐7 >SP500,000	☐6 <SP500,000	☐5 <SP250,000	☐4 <SP100,000	☐3 <SP50,000	☐2 <SP25,000	☐1 <SP5,000	Q2.2 Please select the monthly expense level of your household
☐% Others	☐% Tax	☐% Car Maintenance	☐% Education	☐% Electricity & Water	☐% Housing	☐% Food & Drinks	Q2.3 Please describe the share of the monthly expense of your household

3 Housing Conditions

☐3 Shophouse	☐2 Detached house	☐1 Cooperative housing			Q3.1	Please select the type of building
☐5 >4Fl.	☐4 4Fl.	☐3 3Fl.	☐2 2Fl.	☐1 1Fl.	Q3.2	Please select the number of floors of building
☐5 Before 1900	☐4 1900-50	☐3 1951-70	☐2 1971-90	☐1 1991-2000s	Q3.3	Please select the year of construction
☐4 Waqf	☐3 Rental house	☐2 Owned house	☐1 Owned house with owned land		Q3.4	Please select the ownership of your house.
☐5 >200m2	☐4 <200m2	☐3 <150m2	☐2 <100m2	☐1 <50m2	Q3.5	Please select the size of your house
☐7 >30 yrs	☐6 <30 yrs	☐5 <20 yrs	☐4 <10 yrs	☐3 <5yrs	☐2 <3 yrs	☐1 <1 yrs	Q3.6	Please select the duration of living in the current house
☐2 No	☐1 Yes				Q3.7	Do you want to keep living in the current house?
☐5 >SP 15,000,000	☐4 < SP 15,000,000	☐3 < SP 5,000,000	☐2 < SP 2,500,000	☐1 < SP 500,000	Q3.8	If selected 1 or 2 in Q3.4, Please select the housing price for purchase.
☐5 >SP10,000	☐4 < SP 10,000	☐3 < SP5,000	☐2 < SP1,000	☐1 < SP500	Q3.9	If selected 3 or 4 in Q3.4, please select the monthly rate for rent.
☐2 No	☐1 Yes				Q3.10	If selected 3 in Q3.4, is Law No. 6 applied?

d. Too small	c. Need to improve	b. Acceptable	a. Good			Q3.11	How are you satisfied with your house?
☐	☐	☐	☐	Size of housing unit	1		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Number of rooms	2		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Room layout	3		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Kitchen equipment	4		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Bathroom	5		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Storage space	6		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Conditions of interior	7		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Conditions of exterior (façade)	8		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Sunlight and ventilation	9		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Noise and eyes from outside	10		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Total evaluation	11		

☐b No piped water	☐a Piped water			Water supply	1	Q3.12	Please select the means of infrastructure
☐c No treatment	☐b Septic Tank	☐a Connected to central system		Wastewater treatment	2		

☐c No service (illegal dumping)	☐b Collected by communal service	☐a Collected by government service	Solid waste collection	3	
☐3 No	☐2 Yes, but I have never trial to improve yet.	☐1 Yes, I have trial to improve.		Q3.13	Do you want to improve your building?
		Succeeded to extend the floor area	☐1	Q3.14	If selected 1 in Q3.13, how was your effort?
		Succeeded to change the room layout	☐2		
		Succeeded to change kitchen equipment	☐3		
		Succeeded to change bathroom	☐4		
		Succeeded to change storage space	☐5		
		Succeeded to change interior	☐6		
		Succeeded to change exterior (façade)	☐7		
		Not succeeded, because of the strict laws and regulations.	☐8		
		Not succeeded, because of the complicated procedures for building permission	☐9		
		Not succeeded, because of the lack of financial resources.	☐10		
		Not succeeded, because of the lack of technician (for registered buildings).	☐11		
		Not succeeded, because of the lack of materials (for registered buildings).	☐12		
		Not succeeded, because of the constraints due to the building structure (i.e. insufficient structural stability, no space to install new facility, no space to expand the building).	☐13		
		Not succeeded, because of the disagreement from the neighborhood.	☐14		
		Not succeeded, because of the lack of your motivation to improve.	☐15		
		Others (pls. specify)			
	☐2 No	☐1 Yes		Q3.15	Your building is registered as the historical monument. Do you know it?
☐4 No, I do not know the reason to be registered.	☐3 No, I do not agree with the reason to be registered.	☐2 Yes, but I do not know the reason to be registered.	☐1 Yes, I agree with the reason to be registered.	Q3.16	Do you agree with the reason to be registered for the historical monument?

4 Car Ownership

☐5 >3 cars	☐4 3 cars	☐3 2 cars	☐2 1 car	☐1 Zero	Q4.1	Please select the number of your cars
	☐2 No		☐1 Yes		Q4.2	Do you have any plan to purchase an additional car within one year?
4th Car ☐1	3rd Car ☐1	2nd Car ☐1	1st Car ☐1	Private space: Street	Q4.3	Pease select the location of parking lots by

☐2	☐2	☐2	☐2	Private space: Open space owned by you	each car.
☐3	☐3	☐3	☐3	Private space: Open space owned by other person	
☐4	☐4	☐4	☐4	Private space: Private parking lot	
☐5	☐5	☐5	☐5	Public space: Street	
☐6	☐6	☐6	☐6	Public space: Open space	
☐7	☐7	☐7	☐7	Public space: Common parking lot	
( )	( )	( )	( )	Monthly rate (SP/month)	

5 Living condition: around your home

d Bad	c Need to improve	b Acceptable	a Convenient				
☐	☐	☐	☐	Walking in the area	1	Q5.1	How are you satisfied with living conditions in general?
☐	☐	☐	☐	Shopping	2		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Public transport	3		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Relation with neighbors	4		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Relation with families and relatives	5		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Noise, vibration, and odor	6		
d Bad	c Need to improve	b Acceptable	a Convenient			Q5.2	How are you satisfied with living conditions of social services?
☐	☐	☐	☐	Education services	1		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Clinic and medical services	2		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Play grounds and parks for children	3		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Places and center for women	4		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Places and center for aged	5		
d Bad	c Need to improve	b Acceptable	a Convenient			Q5.3	How are you satisfied with living conditions of infrastructure?
☐	☐	☐	☐	Water supply	1		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Wastewater treatment	2		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Solid waste collection	3		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Surface water drainage	4		
d Bad	c Need to improve	b Acceptable	a Convenient			Q5.4	Please evaluate living conditions in total
☐	☐	☐	☐	Total evaluation	1		

5 Place for free time and weekend

Home	A	Q5.1	Please select the place where you spend the time for free time and weekend by family member: (max. three places)
Friends and relatives home	B		
Park in the Qasawat South area	C		
Restaurant and café in the Qasawat South area	D		
Shopping areas in the Qasawat South area	E		
Streets in the Qasawat South area	F		
Schools in the Qasawat South area	G		
Park outside the Qasawat south area	H		

					Restaurant and cafe outside the Qanawat area	I	
					Shopping areas outside the Qanawat area	J	
					Streets outside the Qanawat area	K	
					Schools outside the Qanawat South area	L	
(	)	(	)	(	)	Men (>15yrs)	1
(	)	(	)	(	)	Women (>15yrs)	2
(	)	(	)	(	)	Children (<15yrs)	3

6 Advantage and needs to improve your living conditions:

					Convenient access to shopping areas outside the Qanawat south area	1	Q6.1	Please select the advantage of your living area (Max. three topics)
					Convenient access to shopping areas in the Qanawat south area (i.e. Bab al Sa'ijeh st.)	2		
					Convenient access to daily shops nearby the house	3		
					Convenient access to school outside the Qanawat south area	4		
					Convenient access to school in the Qanawat south area	5		
					Convenient access to workplace outside the Qanawat south area	6		
					Convenient access to workplace in Qanawat south area	7		
					Historical and cultural atmosphere and townscape (i.e. Kasr al Jajaj st.)	8		
					Religious spots like mosques in the Qanawat south area	9		
					Intricate and unique streets in the Qanawat south area	10		
					Close access to families and relatives	11		
					Close relationship with neighbors	12		
					Positive and high concern with moral and education	13		
					Other (please specify)			
(	)			(	)	(	)	
					[Renovation of towns]	1	Q6.2	Please select the important topic to improve your living area. (Max. five topics)
					To renovate the old buildings	2		
					To renovate the arcades along the shopping streets	3		
					To remove the street vendors	4		
					To improve the pedestrian ways	5		
					To provide the street lightings along the pedestrian ways	6		
					To enhance the tourism promotion (more tourism spots)	7		
					To encourage the commercial activities (more shops)	8		
					[Improvement of public spaces and services]			
					To widen and rearrange the intricate and narrow roads	9		
					To provide new parks and open spaces	10		
					To provide new community centers	11		
					To provide new places and centers for women	12		
					To encourage the planting and green networks	13		
					To enhance the public cleaning and solid waste collection services	14		
					To improve the moral for environment (ie illegal dumping)	15		
					To provide schools and nursery schools	16		
					To provide clinics and schools	17		
					[Improvement of transportation]			
					To reduce the through traffic	18		
					To reduce the illegal parking	19		
					To enhance the public transport	20		
(	)	(	)	(	) ( ) ( )			

7 Participatory approach

						Q7.1	Are you interested in the participatory approach?

0 Identification

		( )	Cadastral ID
		( )	Building ID
		( )	Name of Interviewer
( ) Date	( ) Month	( ) Year	Date of First Visit
( ) Date	( ) Month	( ) Year	Date of Final Visit
		Completed ☐1 Unavailable at home ☐2 Postponed ☐3 Refused ☐4 Vacant or not found ☐5	Result codes

1 Basic Information

							( )	Q1.1	Please write the name of your shop.
		(Incl. perishables, seasoning, sweets, breads)			Food and beverage	☐1		Q1.2	Please select the type of commercial activities
		(Incl. pinning, sewing, cloths, and shoes)			Cloths	☐2			
		(Incl. jewelry, glasses, watches)			Accessories	☐3			
		(Incl. medicines and perfumes)			Pharmacy and cosmetics	☐4			
					Restaurants and café	☐5			
					Hotel and guest house	☐6			
					Souvenir and folk craft	☐7			
		(Incl. air conditioner, washing machine, lighting)			Electric appliances	☐8			
					Communication and computers	☐9			
		(Incl. hardware, tableware and carpets)			Furniture and interior	☐10			
					Printing, book, and stationery	☐11			
		(Incl. private, government, and party)			Office	☐12			
					Barber and public bath	☐13			
		( )			Manufacturing (pls. specify)	☐14			
		( )			Others (pls. specify)				
			persons	( )	Total	1		Q1.3	Please describe number of workers by type
					[Details]				
			persons	( )	Family members	2			
			persons	( )	Relatives	3			
	☐4 Outside Qanawat		☐3 Qanawat		☐2 Qanawat south		☐1 Same building	Q1.4	Please select the location of your house
☐8 No	☐7 Thu	☐6 Wed	☐5 Tue	☐4 Mon	☐3 Sun	☐2 Sat	☐1 Fri	Q1.5	Please select the holiday of your shop
						( )	Opening time	Q1.6	Please describe opening/closing time
						( )	Closing time		
☐7 20:00-22:00	☐6 18:00-20:00	☐5 16:00-18:00	☐4 14:00-16:00	☐3 12:00-14:00	☐2 10:00-12:00	☐1 8:00-10:00		Q1.6	Please select the busiest time
	☐5 >200		☐4 <200	☐3 <100	☐2 <50	☐1 <10		Q1.7	Please select the number of customers per day
( )% Shops/companies working outside the Qanawat south area		( )% Shops/companies working in the Qanawat south area		( )% People living outside the Qanawat south area		( )% People living in the Qanawat south area		Q1.8	Please describe the type of customers by share

2 Financial Condition:

☐6 >SP500, 000	☐5 <SP500,000	☐4 <SP250,000	☐3 <SP100,000	☐2 <SP50,000	☐1 <SP25,000	Q2.1	Please select the monthly sales amount
☐6 >SP500, 000	☐5 <SP500,000	☐4 <SP250,000	☐3 <SP100,000	☐2 <SP50,000	☐1 <SP25,000	Q2.2	Please select the monthly cost
( )% Others	( )% Tax	( )% Transportation	( )% Electricity & Water	( )% Rental cost for office & shop space	( )% Cost for materials	( )% Labor costs	Q2.3 Please describe the share of the monthly cost
☐6 No	☐5 Family/relative	☐4 Yes, finance from Waqf	☐3 Yes, finance from the association of similar business	☐2 Yes, support from government	☐1 Yes, finance from bank	Q2.4	Do you have any financial support?

3 Building Condition:

☐2 Building for shops/office and house				☐1 Building for shops/office only		Q3.1	Please select the type of building
☐5 >4Fl.	☐4 4Fl.	☐3 3Fl.		☐2 2Fl.	☐1 1Fl.	Q3.2	Please select the number of floors of building
☐5 Before 1900	☐4 1900-50	☐3 1951-70		☐2 1971-90	☐1 1991-2000s	Q3.3	Please select the year of construction
☐4 Waqf	☐3 Rental building		☐2 Owned building		☐1 Owned building with owned land	Q3.4	Please select the ownership of your shop
☐6 >200m2	☐5 <200m2	☐4 <100m2	☐3 <50m2	☐2 <20m2	☐1 <10m2	Q3.5	Please select the size of your shop
☐5 >200m2	☐4 <200m2	☐3 <150m2		☐2 <100m2	☐1 <50m2	Q3.5	If you have your house in the same building of our shop, please select the size of your shop and house in total
☐7 >30 yrs	☐6 <30 yrs	☐5 <20 yrs	☐4 <10 yrs	☐3 <5yrs	☐2 <3 yrs	☐1 <1 yrs	Q3.6 Please select the duration of operating the business in the current building
☐5 >SP 15,000,000	☐4 < SP 15,000,000	☐3 < SP 5,000,000		☐2 < SP 2,500,000	☐1 < SP 500,000	Q3.7	If selected 1 or 2 in Q3.4, please select the value to sell your shop
☐5 >SP10,000	☐4 < SP 10,000	☐3 < SP5,000		☐2 < SP1,000	☐1 < SP500	Q3.8	If selected 3 or 4 in Q3.4, please select the monthly rate for rent.
d. Too small	c. Need to	b. Acceptable	a. Good			Q3.9	How are you

improve							satisfied with your shop?
☐	☐	☐	☐	Size of shop space	1		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Number of rooms	2		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Room layout	3		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Equipment	4		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Storage space	5		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Conditions of interior	6		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Conditions of exterior (façade)	7		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Sunlight and ventilation	8		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Noise and eyes from outside	9		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Total evaluation	10		
☐b No piped water		☐a Piped water		Water supply	1	Q3.10	Please select the means of infrastructure
☐c No treatment	☐b Septic Tank	☐a Connected to central system		Wastewater treatment	2		
☐c No service (illegal dumping)	☐b Collected by communal service	☐a Collected by government service		Solid waste collection	3		
☐3 No		☐2 Yes, but I have never tried to improve yet.		☐1 Yes, I have tried to improve.		Q3.11	Do you want to improve your building?
				Succeeded to extend the floor area	☐1	Q3.12	If selected 1 in Q3.11, how was your effort?
				Succeeded to change the room layout	☐2		
				Succeeded to change equipment	☐3		
				Succeeded to change storage space	☐4		
				Succeeded to change interior	☐5		
				Succeeded to change exterior (façade)	☐6		
				Not succeeded, because of the strict laws and regulations.	☐7		
				Not succeeded, because of the complicated procedures for building permission	☐8		
				Not succeeded, because of the lack of financial resources.	☐9		
				Not succeeded, because of the lack of technicians (for registered buildings)	☐10		
				Not succeeded, because of the lack of materials (for registered buildings)	☐11		
				Not succeeded, because of the constraints due to the building structure (i.e. insufficient structural stability, no space to install new facility, no space to expand the building)	☐12		
				Not succeeded, because of the disagreement from the neighborhood.	☐13		
				Others (pls. specify)			
	☐2 No			☐1 Yes		Q3.13	Your building is registered as the historical monument. Do you know it?
☐4 No, I do not know the reason to be registered.		☐3 No, I do not agree with the reason to be registered.		☐2 Yes, but I do not know the reason to be registered.	☐1 Yes, I agree with the reason to be registered.	Q3.14	Do you agree with the reason to be registered for the historical monument?

4 Car Ownership and Commodity

☐5 >3 cars	☐4 3 cars	☐3 2 cars	☐2 1 car	☐1 Zero	Q4.1	Please select the number of your cars
	☐2 No		☐1 Yes		Q4.2	Do you have any plan to purchase an additional car within one year?
4th Car	3rd Car	2nd Car	1st Car		Q4.3	Pease select the location and monthly rate of parking lots by each car
☐1	☐1	☐1	☐1	Private space: Street		
☐2	☐2	☐2	☐2	Private space: Open space owned by you		
☐3	☐3	☐3	☐3	Private space: Open space owned by other person		
☐4	☐4	☐4	☐4	Private space: Private parking lot		
☐5	☐5	☐5	☐5	Public space: Street		
☐6	☐6	☐6	☐6	Public space: Open space		
☐7	☐7	☐7	☐7	Public space: Common parking lot		
( )	( )	( )	( )	Monthly rate (SP/month)		
☐5 Once a week	☐4 2-3 times a week	☐3 >3 times a week	☐2 Once everyday	☐1 2 times or more everyday	Q4.4	Please select frequency to bring in the commodity
☐8 Not specified	☐7 20:00-22:00	☐6 18:00-20:00	☐5 16:00-18:00	☐4 14:00-16:00	☐3 12:00-14:00	☐2 10:00-12:00	☐1 8:00-10:00	Q4.5	Please select the time to bring in the commodity
☐3 Delivery service arranged by the neighborhood or similar shops		☐2 Delivery service arranged by yourself		☐1 Self arrangement	Q4.6	Please select the means to bring in commodity
☐5 Truck	☐4 Pickup truck	☐3 Van	☐2 Sedan	☐1 Tricycle	Q4.7	Please select the type of car for the commodity

5 Business condition around your shop

d Bad	c Need to improve	b Acceptable	a Convenient			Q5.1	How are you satisfied with conditions to operate your business in general?
☐	☐	☐	☐	Walking conditions in the area	1		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Transport	3		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Noise, vibration, and odor	4		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Relation with neighborhood	5		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Relation with communities of similar shops	6		
d Bad	c Need to improve	b Acceptable	a Convenient			Q5.2	How are you satisfied with conditions of infrastructure to operate your business?
☐	☐	☐	☐	Water supply	1		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Wastewater treatment	2		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Solid waste collection	3		
☐	☐	☐	☐	Surface water drainage	4		

d Bad	c Need to improve	b Acceptable	a Convenient			Q5.3	Please evaluate business conditions in total
☐	☐	☐	☐	Total evaluation	1		

6 Advantage and need: to improve your busine:: condition:

Convenient access for the customers living outside the Qanawat south area	1	Q6.1	Please select the advantage for your customers (Max. three topics)
Convenient access for the customers living in the Qanawat south area	2		
Historical and cultural atmosphere and townscape (i.e. Kasr al Jajaj st.)	3		
Religious spots like mosques in the Qanawat south area	4		
Intricate and unique streets in the Qanawat south area	5		
Other (please specify)			
( ) ( ) ( )			
Yes, I want to provide more goods.	☐1	Q6.2	Do you intend to expand your business?
Yes, I want to employee more workers.	☐2		
Yes, I want to have more customers.	☐3		
No, I do not have any interest to expand my business.	☐4		
[Renovation of towns]	1	Q6.3	Please select the important topic to improve your business conditions. (Max. five topics)
To renovate the old buildings	2		
To renovate the arcades along the shopping streets	3		
To remove the street venders for easy walking and traffic	4		
To improve the pedestrian ways	5		
To provide the street lightings along the pedestrian ways	6		
To enhance the tourism promotion (more tourism destination such as renovated o ld buildings	7		
To encourage the commercial activities (more shops)	8		
[Improvement of public spaces and services]			
To widen and rearrange the intricate and narrow roads	9		
To enhance the public cleaning and solid waste collection services	14		
To improve the moral for environment (ie illegal dumping)	15		
[Improvement of transportation]			
To reduce the through traffic	18		
To reduce the illegal parking	19		
To enhance the public transport	20		
( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )			

7 Participatory approach

	☐2 No			☐1 Yes		Q7.1	Are you interested in the participatory approach?
☐4 No relation with neighbors		☐3 No believe	☐2 No time		☐1 Not my duty	Q7.2	Why are you not interested in the approach
☐5 After 17:00 on Saturday	☐4 After 13:00 on Saturday	☐3 Morning on Saturday	☐2 After 17:00 on Sun-Thr	☐2 After 13:00 on Sun-Thr	☐1 Morning on Sun-Thr	Q7.3	What is the preferable time for participate the workshop

8 Future expectation

Historical and cultural area with the quiet atmosphere for the residents	□1	Q8.1	Please select the future expectation for the Qanawat south area? (Max. three topics)
Historical and cultural area with the central shopping center	□2		
Historical and cultural area with the international tourism area	□3		
Mixed area of commercial and residential with middle/high-rise buildings	□4		
Mixed area of commercial and residential with low/middle-rise buildings	□5		
Mixed area of commercial and residential with intricate road network	□6		
Mixed area of commercial and residential with modern road network	□7		
Mixed area of commercial and residential with sufficient green and open spaces	□8		
Mixed area of commercial and residential well-designed for children, women, and the aged	□9		
( ) ( ) ( )			
To preserve the historical townscape, and gradually improve the existing conditions	□1	Q8.2	Which one do you prefer for the future town
To restructure the existing buildings and urbanized areas into modernized town	□2		

Appendix 4-8: Example of coding naming and decided values

In this appendix a discussion of the codes used in relation to the concept 1.a: *Perception of civil society among society spheres,* as an example to illustrate how these codes have been decided and applied on the data collected by interviewing.

As introduced in Chapter two of this thesis[178], civil society is understood to include all society segments which, in theory, lie outside both the sphere of production (private firms) and the state (Gregory, et al., 2009 pp. 86-87; Alexander, 2008 p. 121). Yet, in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated (LSE, 2004). It embraces "a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power" (LSE, 2004).

Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group (LSE, 2004).

Although it is hard to define the boundaries of the civil society in practice, this research looks at it to be any non-governmental non-private type of organization in the society in their both the vertical and horizontal structures (Carley, et al., 2001) (the author tends to refer to these structures as formal and informal and these are illustrated in Figure 2-1 and Figure 2-2 in Chapter two). This definition enjoys a diversity of places, actors , institutional forms, formality and power. It may be true just in theory but has been more flexible when approaching the research objectives.

In this research, it was important to examine the understanding of the concept 'civil society' among the different actors involved in urban development decision-making in terms of land use, as this understanding affects the type of relationships among these actors and this further affects urban development mental models and organisational

[178] This paragraph is repeated as introduced in Chapter two.

forms of the these actors institutional entities. Thus, the first semi-structured interview question was to examine this and three codes of 'strong, fair and week perception' (see Appendix 6-1) were developed to weigh the understanding of the concept in the different spheres of the society, the state, the private sector and the civil society. The values of the codes were decided by reflecting each related quote for each interviewee on the adapted definition of civil society introduced above and further explained in Chapter 2. The following Table A4-8 explains how this is done, and the results of the coding are shown in Table A4-9.

Table A4-8: An illustration of the indications of the code values used for concept 1.a

Concept	Code	Indication of code value
Perception of civil society	**strong**	Includes all non-governmental and non-private spheres in the society in both structures, the formal and the informal
	Critical point of transition in perception from strong to fair	Does not include the economic dimension of civil society and does not include the wider entities of the formal structure of civil society (international organisations or movements)
	fair	Includes all the formal structures of non-governmental organisations and recognises the informal structure only on the local level as 'local residents'
	Critical point of transition in perception from fair to week	Does not include the informal structure of civil society especially on the wider level
	week	Includes only the local community groups who are directly affected by a development.

Source: The author

The perception of civil society of each of the interviewees was weighed against this curriculum and categorised under the relevant code. Categorising data in this was in addition to the degree of concept perception aware of the sphere each interviewee belongs to whether it is the state, the private sector or the civil society. The results of categorising data in this are shown in Table A4-9 below.

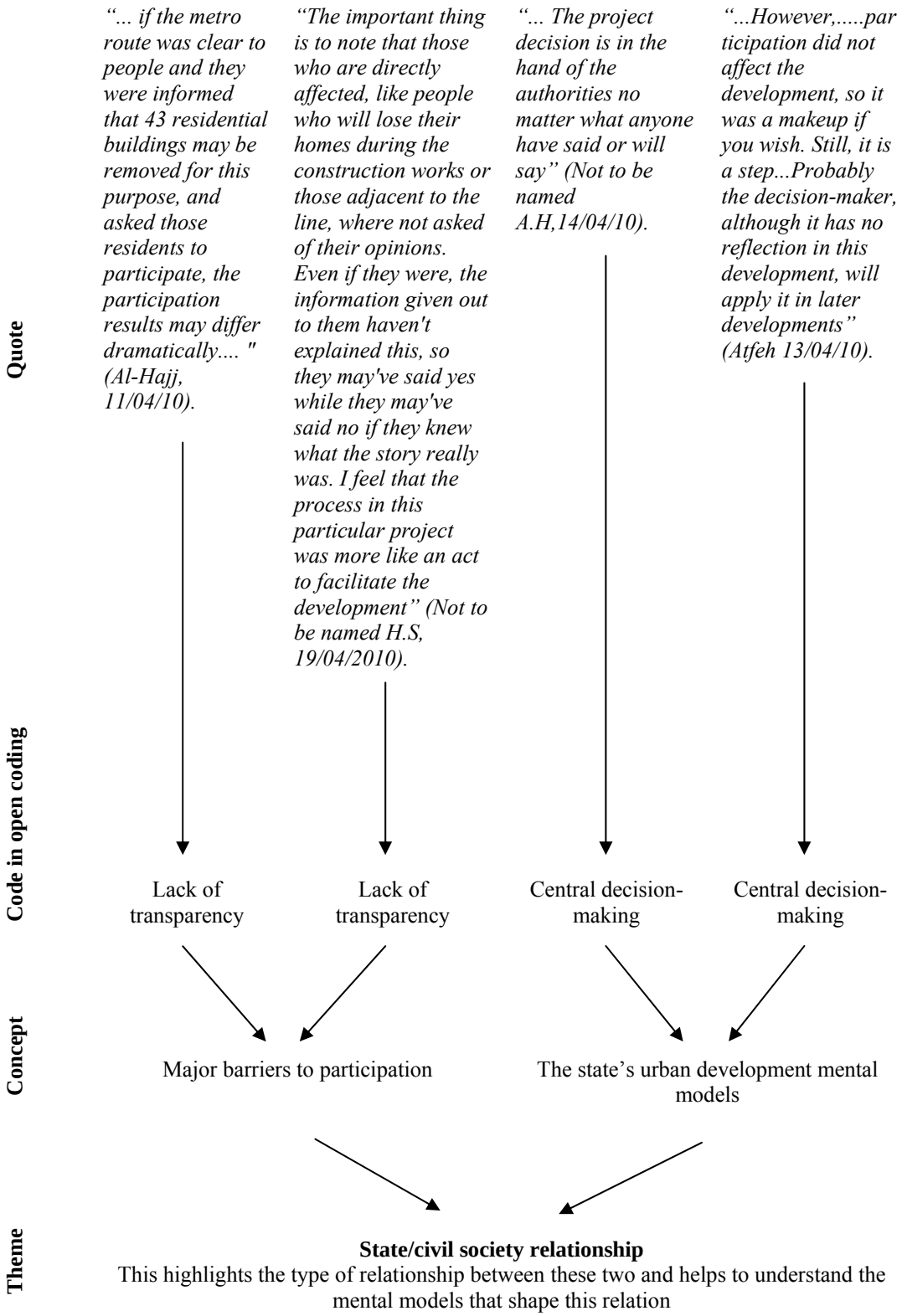
Table A4-9: The results of categorizing data received from the research intervieweesin relation to the concept 1.a

Society sphere	Interviewee	Civil society perception		
		strong	fair	week
State	Abd Al-Fattah Ayaso	1		
	Not to be named A.H		1	
	Ferial Shabaan			1
	Hassan Al Hajj			1
	Hiam Al-Ali			1
	Natalia After		1	
	Nigel Stuart-Baker Mrtpi		1	
	Not to be named R.S			1
	Reem Al-Khatib		1	
	Tsuyoshi Hashimoto	1		
	Wafaa Dagestanee		1	
	Yasar Abedeen		1	
Private sector	Bashar Kabani			1
	Not to be named M.O			1
	Not to be named I.H		1	
	Not to be named M.S		1	
Civil society	Khaled Bitar	1		
	Not to be named H.S	1		
	Not to be named Z.K	1		
	Not to be named B.T			1
Total in each sphere	**state**	**2**	**6**	**4**
	market	**0**	**2**	**2**
	civil society	**3**	**0**	**1**

	strong	fair	week
Total	**5**	**8**	**7**

Source: The author

Appendix 4-9: Example of qualitative data analysis process application



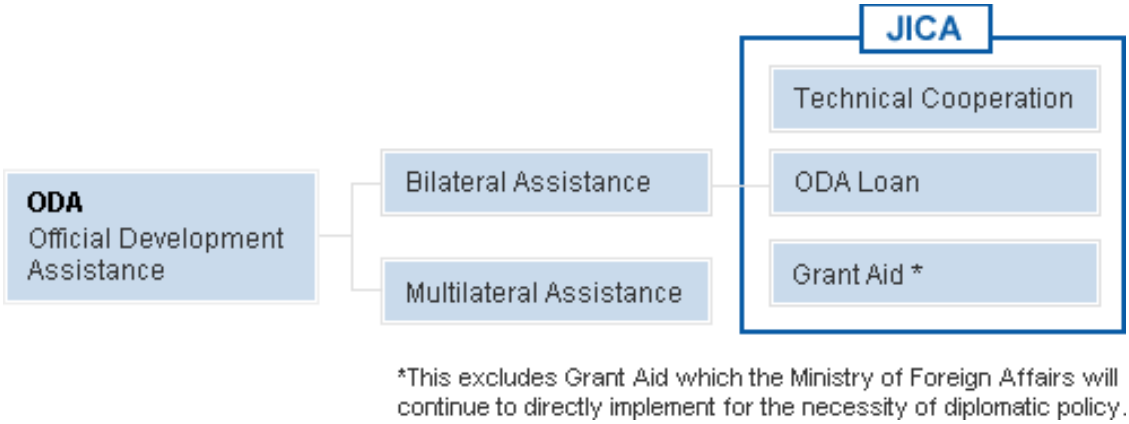
Appendix 5-1: Japan's ODA and JICA

A variety of organizations and groups, including governments as well as international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and private companies, carry out financial assistance to developing countries for socioeconomic development. ODA, as defined by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), must meet the following three requirements:

- *It should be undertaken by governments or government agencies*
- *The main objective is the promotion of economic development and welfare in developing countries*
- *It has concessional terms, having a grant element of at least 25%*

Note: The grant element measures the concessionality or "softness" of financial terms of a loan. The lower the interest rate and the longer the maturity period, the higher the grant element, which means it is more beneficial to the borrower. The grant element for a grant is 100%.

ODA is broadly divided into bilateral aid, in which assistance is given directly to developing countries, and multilateral aid, which is provided through international organizations. JICA provides bilateral aid in the form of Technical Cooperation, Japanese ODA Loans and Grant Aid.



This is taken from (JICA, 2011)

Appendix 5-2: Damascus metro green line questionnaire sheet

This questionnaire was distributed with information packs in 25 points along the proposed route for the development. The following is a translation of the questionnaire sheet contents.

A metro in Damascus

The green line

Damascus: the bright future

We appreciate your participation! Damascus metro green line will be one of the major infrastructure development withtin the few following years. This development is a sustainable modern investment in the oldest capital in the world. Please read the included booklet and fill this questionnaire for your opinion to be considred. You can put the filled questionnaire in the specified box or you can post it to the address shown bellow. You can also participate by logging into the website: http://www.damascus-metro.com

Please select one answer for each question

Question 1: Do you think that Damascus suffers air pollution?

Yes No

Question 2: What are the possible sources of this pollution in your opinion?

Transportation industrial areas building sites

Question 3: Do you thik that the current transportation means used in the city are environmentally friendly?

Yes No

Question 4: Do you consider the current transportation means used in the city a source for noise and disturbance?

Yes No

Question 5: What are the most disturbing transotation means in the city in your opinion?

Buses	Private cars	Trains
Microbuses	Aeroplanes	Motorbikes
Taxis		

Question 6: Do you feel that current transportation means are time consuming?

Yes No

If yes, what is the main reason?

- Slow public transportation
- Unorganised public transportation network
- Traffic conjunctions
- Poorly planned roads networks

Question 7: Do you feel that current transportation means are safe?

Yes No

Question 8: Do you feel that the metro train is environmentally friendly?

Yes No

Question 9: What are the possible effects of the metro development on the surrounding environment in your opinion?

Question 10: Do you think that the metro development is safe and in accordance with general safety roles?

Yes No

Question 11: Do you think that the metro development is time saver?

Yes No

Question 12: Do you think that the metro development will contribute to solve traffic problems and reduce air pollution/

Yes No

Question 13: Do you think that the metro development construction works will affect the historical sites in the city?

Yes No

Question 14: Do you think that exhibiting the discovered historical pieces or ruins in the metro stations is a positive approach to beautify the stations and attract tourists?

Yes No

Question 15: What is the best construction method for the metro development?

In a tunnel On a bridge Does not matter

Question 16: A part of the metro line will be on a bridge between Mezzeh and Moadamiyeh. Do you think this will visually affect the city?

Positive effect Negative effect Does not matter

Question 17: The metro development will affect the urban nature of some locations in terms of land-use and property ownership. What do you think of these changes?

Acceptable Not acceptable Does not matter

Question 18: Do you think that the metro development will have an impact on certain social groups?

Yes No

Id yes, please give examples

If you wish to register for our regular news letter, please provide your e-mail address:

Thank you for your participation

Governorate of Damascus – Transport directorate

Mail address – website – e-mail address – fax number

Source: This questionnaire pack was collected along with the booklet by the author upon a visit to GoD during the first field trip to Damascus in 2009. It is translated from Arabic by the author

Appendix 5-3: Damascus informal settlements survey results

Table A5-1: Results of a survey of 1000 samples of informal settlements residents in Damascus - 2008

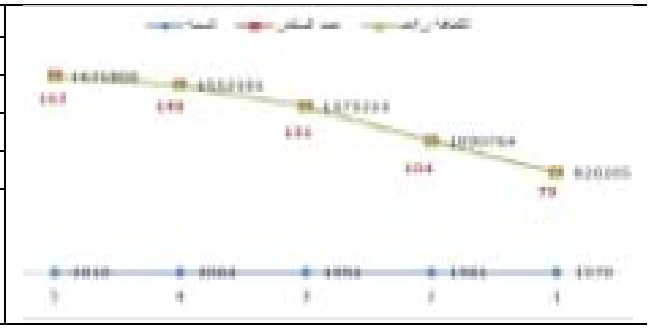
Question	Answers	Answers in percentage	
What is the need for the development?	Area increase	69%	
	Need for extra facilities	27%	
	Social need	3%	
	other	1%	
Does the development affect the law?	No	53%	
	No important effect	28%	
	Yes but I need it	11%	
	Other	8%	
Do you know it is illegal?	Yes	71%	
	No	14%	
	Does not matter	8%	
	Other	7%	
Why did you illegally develop?	All my neighbours did	65%	
	I needed to	31%	
	I like it	3%	
	I don't know	1%	
What do you think of legalising informal developments?	Agree	67%	
	Partly agree	12%	
	Don't agree	4%	
	Does not matter	7%	
How did you build the development?	In coordination with SD	81%	
	Secretly	9%	
	Formal application	6%	
	By force	4%	
What is the main reason for informal development?	ESDs indulgence	59%	
	Week development plans	19%	
	Building codes failure	16%	
	Urbanisation	6%	

Source: (Abdin, et al., 2008 p. 9) translated by the author

Appendix 5-4: Damascus city population and its distribution among the city's districts

Table A5-2: Damascus population growth between 1970 and 2010

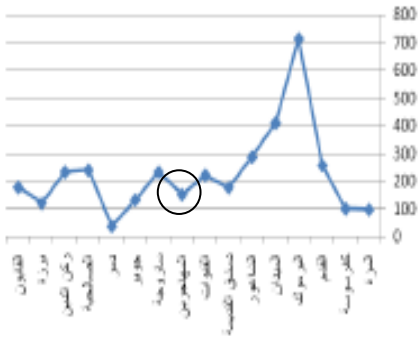
Year	Population	Density p/ha
1970	820205	79
1981	1090764	104
1994	1373223	131
2004	1552161	148
2010	1625800	162



Source: (Abdin, et al., 2008 p. 10) translated by the author

Table A5-3: The population of Damascus city districts in 2004

District	Area ha	Population	Density p/ha
Mezah	1277	123313	97
Kafarsouseh	1148	113968	100
Al-Kadam	374	95944	257
Al-Yarmouk	192	137248	714
Al-midam	433	177636	410
Al-Shagoor	485	139229	287
Old City	140	24721	177
Al-Qanawat	262	58053	221
Al-Muhajereen (Qassyoon)	**367**	**55510**	**151**
Saroujah	362	83814	232
Jobar	634	83245	132
Dumar	2682	95944	37
Al-Salihyah	302	72303	240
Ruken Al-Din	398	92646	233
Barzah	900	107596	120
Al-Qaboun	506	89974	178
Total	**10499**	**1552161**	**148**



Source: (Abdin, et al., 2008 p. 11) translated by the author with emphasis on Qasyoon district

Appendix 5-5: Informal land supply market and its facilitators

Table A5-4: Informal urban development market landowners, agents and developers categories

Landowners, agents and developers	Landowners and vendors	These in the 1980s were traditional landowning families or farmers who wished to sell their land in the fear that it would be compulsorily acquired by government – in which case they would only receive a very low rate of compensation. More recently peri-urban land has been sold informally because it has become unproductive and/or because of the landowners' fear of losing it to squatters. Such informal sales are almost invariably for cash that is occasionally accepted in instalments. However, people who sell their property or vacant plots for the construction of apartment buildings often take one or two flats in the new development in part exchange for their property.
	Agents and developers	These fall into five categories: a) Informal land agents are brokers between landowners willing to sell land informally and land-seeking communities or individuals. Many agents are or became respected leaders of the communities who they represent. b) Informal land developers are businessmen with access to capital who buy tracts of undeveloped land and subdivide it into plots that they retail to individual households or to groups of families. c) Speculative developers are entrepreneurs who acquire old central area properties that the demolish and construct high-rise multi-occupancy apartment blocks. Many of them are known for exploitative and corrupt. d) practices and have been responsible for dangerous construction that is a serious threat to public safety. e) Squatter settlers are either individual households or a number of extended families who lay claim to land to which they have no legal right. They may, however, claim customary rights to the land if they formerly had been its agricultural tenants. f) Squatter developers are individuals and organised groups who invade land (usually privately owned) for which they make no payment, subdivide it, and sell plots. They often use intimidating and/or violent tactics that have earned them the title of 'the Land Mafia'.
	Purchasers and occupants	These are predominantly rural migrants to the city, many of whom have sold their rural assets in order to start a new life in the city. They tend to stick together in the social groups of their ethnic or geographic origin. With the 'densification' of settlements and an increase in rental tenancies, however, these social groups have tended to become more heterogeneous. There is also increasing mobility within the city. Low-income households are moving out of relatively high-value overcrowded central areas into informal settlements on the urban fringes where - despite the risks associated with informality - they have more space at lower cost.

Source: These definitions are taken from (Wakely, et al., 2010 pp. 6-7) and put in this table by the author

Appendix 5-6: Survey sheet for Qassyoon informal settlement

Survey Sheet

The neighbourhood:

Number of dwelling residents:

	Mother	Father	No of boys	No of girls
Age				
Occupation				
Work place				

Area of the dwelling:

Current status of the dwelling:

Very good	Good	Medium	Bad

Current available services:

Retail	Health	Service	Education	Green space

General concerns:

Pollution	Noise	Transportation	Cleaning services

Number of building storeys preferred for residence:

Other suggestions:

Source: Collected by the author during interviews with officials in MoLA in 2010 and translated from Arabic by the author

Appendix 6-1: Summary of the analysis codes and their derived concepts

Table A6-7: Interview first question codes and concepts

Question one					
How do you identify the "civil society" targeted by the new participation policies encouraged in the 10th FYP as a resource to promote sustainable development?					
1.a Civil society perception					
strong	fair	week			
1.b level of representation in authorities					
strong	fair	week			
1.c Level of effect on urban development					
formally			**Informally**		
strong	fair	week	strong	fair	week

Source: The author

Table A6-8: Interview question two codes and derived concepts

Question two			
Should civil society be engaged in urban development decision making?			
2.a Position from civil society participation			
yes	does not matter	no	
2.b the responsible party to carry out participation			
state/ study party	private developer	civil society	third party
2.c availability of monitoring mechanism			
yes	don't know	no	

Source: The author

Table A6-9: Interview question three codes and concepts

Question three						
In terms of capacity, do the planning authorities who are responsible to carry out participation and civil society targeted by the process have the needed capacity to cope with this form of development decision-making?						
3.a state's capacity needs						
institutional	training	gate keeping/ cultural change	fund			
3.b civil society's capacity needs						
structure	power/ representatives	awareness				
3.c major barriers to participation						
trust	information	organisational	state mental models	population	regional challenges	awareness
3.d major opportunities to facilitate participation						
institutional structure	accessible community	Connected community	media	best practise	will	

Source: The author

Table A6-10: Interview question four codes and derived concepts

Question four		
Do civil society needs affect the state's function of market regulation?		
4.a effect of civil society needs on the state's function of the market regulations		
effective	don't know	not effective

Source: The author

Table A6-11: Interview question five codes and derived concepts

Question five									
How do you describe the consultation process that took place in relation to Damascus metro project?									
5.a degree of inclusion of the diverse community									
strong	fair	weak	no response						
5.b reason for the consultation process									
state	civil society	UNDP	donor	study party	other	no response			
5.c challenges to the process									
information	techniques	public awareness	institutional state	trust	development scale	transparency	certainty	time limit	no response

Source: The author

Table A6-12: Interview question six codes and derived concepts

Question six								
How do you describe the consultation process that took place in relation to Damascus metro project?								
6.a reasons for informal development								
regional imbalance	external immig	inner immig	housing policies/limited resources	housing market/land value	development institutional structure	development plans failure	no response	
6.b the informal settlements community is a form of civil society								
yes	don't know	no	no response					
6.c they are effective								
yes	don't know	no	no response					
6.d state's policy towards these settlements								
remove	upgrade	mixture	depends on land value	none	limit effect/ stop the spread	don't know	no response	
6.e role of participation to control the spread of these settlements								
yes	don't know	partly	no	no response				
6.f barriers to facilitate participation in informal areas								
lack of proper structure	socially unstable/ constantly changing	high in population	lack of trust	lack of representation	not unacknowledged as a local community	lack awareness	no state will	not interested society	no response

Source: The author

Appendix 6-2: South Lanarkshire Council's wheel of participation – definitions

Source: South Lanarkshire Council, Scotland. (1999) Spinning the Wheel of Empowerment. Planning Journal (UK) April 1999:14-15, URL

Linear Form

Information

Minimal Communication: Council deciding on all matters itself, without community consultation (except when legally required to do so), e.g. via the minutes of committee meetings.

Example technique: Public Notices

Limited Information: Telling the public only what you want to tell them, not what the public wants to know, e.g. Press releases.

Example techniques: Press releases, Newsletters, and Campaigns.

Good Quality Information: Providing information, which the community wants and/or needs, e.g. discussion papers/exhibitions for

development plans, guidance notes for conservative area development.

Example technique: Leaflet

Consultation

Limited Consultation: Providing information in a limited manner with the onus often placed on the community to respond, e.g. Posters and leaflets.

Example techniques: Public meeting, surveys.

Customer Care: Having a customer-oriented service, e.g. Introducing a customer care policy, providing a complaints/comments scheme.

Example techniques: Comment cards, one-on-one interviews

Genuine Consultation: The department actively discussing issues with communities regarding what it is thinking of doing prior to taking actions, e.g. Liaising with tenants groups, customer satisfaction surveys.

Example techniques: Citizens Panels, Districts Circles, Focus Groups, Opinion meter, User Panels, Stakeholder Groups

Participation

Effective Advisory Body: Inviting communities to draw up proposals for the department to consider, e.g. Planning for Real Citizens' Juries, Community Councils.
Example techniques: Citizens' Juries, Planning for Real, Priority Search.

Partnership: Solving problems in partnership with communities, e.g. a formal partnership.
Example techniques: co-option, Stakeholders Groups, Design Game.

Limited Decentralised Decision-Making: Allowing communities to make their own decisions on some issues, e.g. Management of community halls.
Example techniques: Application of participation techniques with political support to delegate power.

Empowerment

Delegated Control: Delegating limited decisions – making powers in a particular or project, e.g. Tenant Management Organisations, Shop mobility and school boards.
Example techniques: Application of participation techniques with political support to delegate power.

Independent Control: Council obliged to provide a service but chooses to do so by facilitating community groups and/or other agencies to provide that service on their behalf, e.g. the delivery of care services contracts by the voluntary sector.
Example techniques: Application of participation techniques with political support to delegate power.

Entrusted Control: Devolving substantial decision-making powers to communities, e.g. Tenant Management.

Example techniques: Application of participation techniques with political support to delegate power